

## George Starkey

*Chemotherapy—the treatment of infections by means of chemical remedies—is considered one of the most modern developments in medicine. Yet it was being practised in London nearly 300 years ago by George Starkey, the son of an English clergyman in the Bermudas. Starkey was edu-*

*cated at Harvard, Massachusetts—then a British colony—and graduated in 1640. Coming to London, he became an apothecary and showed great skill and versatility in the preparation of chemical medicines such as quinine. He won a high reputation for his “extraordinary knowledge of chemistry”, and was on familiar terms with the leading chemists of the time.*

*On the outbreak of the Great Plague in 1665, he at once set about seeking a cure, and was reported to have compounded a specific which was always effective. Demands for his services were so great that he became overworked. His health suffered, and he too fell a victim to the Plague. He gave detailed instructions as to how his own remedy was to be administered to him, but his physician made an error and Starkey died, and with him the secret prescription. A contemporary wrote of him “Our friend Dr. Starkey is dead of this visitation, with about six more of them chymicall practitioners the most of them distractedly madd”. The sneer was unworthy for the “chymicall practitioners” had treated Plague patients with complete disregard of personal danger, even going so far as to hold post mortems on victims. From these crude beginnings sprang the science of chemotherapy which, 300 years later, was to crown its many great achievements with the development of penicillin, the sulpha drugs and “Paludrine”.*



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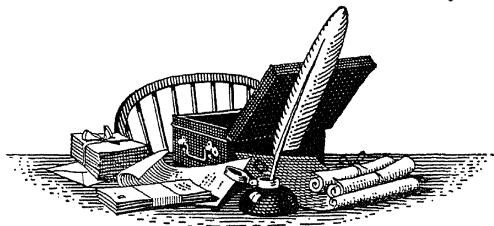
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Autumn 1948



Vol. I No. 4

# PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

## JOURNAL OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY

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CONTENTS		Page
HANSARD SOCIETY NEWS		
By Stephen King-Hall .. .. .		3
POETRY AND POLITICS		
By Muriel Spark .. .. .		12
THE NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS .. .. .		24
LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD—II		
THE PALAIS BOURBON. By D. W. S. Lidderdale		27
STANDING FOR PARLIAMENT		
By Nigel Nicolson .. .. .		33
THE GREAT SEAL		
By R. W. Perceval .. .. .		40
POLITICAL PARTY FUNDS		
By the Rt. Hon. Arthur Greenwood, C.H., M.P., S. H. Pierssené, and Philip Fothergill .. .. .		47
THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—I .. .. .		54
METHODS OF VOTING		
By Enid Lakeman, B.Sc. .. .. .		64
THE WORK OF THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT. By an M.P.'s Secretary .. .. .		
		73
UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT—III		
By Thomas Lloyd Humberstone .. .. .		78
OUR JOURNAL IN PARLIAMENT .. .. .		89
CORRESPONDENCE .. .. .		90
BOOKS AND GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED ..		93
BOOK REVIEWS		
By Hugh Molson, M.P., S.D.B., J. D. Lambert, B.A., B.Litt.(Oxon.), and Neville Hobson .. .. .		95

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## HANSARD SOCIETY NEWS

by STEPHEN KING-HALL

*Chairman of the Council and Honorary Director.*

**H**ansard House. The last issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* had just left our office when I received two letters, the importance of which was such that your Council decided to circulate them immediately to all members. For purposes of historical record they are reprinted below:

FOREIGN OFFICE

S.W.1.

26th May, 1948.

Dear Commander King-Hall,

I should like to take an opportunity of thanking you very much for the excellent work which the Hansard Society has done in the past in entertaining German politicians and others whom we have sent to England to see democratic institutions at first hand. There is not the slightest doubt that these visits and the excellent way in which Parliament and many other connected elements of the British system have been displayed and explained to the Germans have made a very great impression. Indeed I am quite sure myself that these visits do as much as any other single measure which we are taking to promote a genuine re-education of the Germans.

In writing this letter I very much hope that the excellent work done in the past will not be thrown away for lack of further efforts in the same direction. We are looking forward to selecting a number of further parties for visits to England drawn from various spheres of German official and political life and we have come to the conclusion that a really independent and objective body like the Hansard Society with its various connections, parliamentary and otherwise, is far better suited for our purpose in sending them to England than any official agency could be. I should be very glad therefore to know whether the Society

expects to be in a position to go on helping us in the future perhaps on a rather larger scale as this will greatly simplify the plans on our side. I realize that the burden involved for you is very considerable and that the question of the necessary resources is a difficult one. As far as official funds go I think it may be possible to get a little towards the actual maintenance of the visitors but the sum is unlikely to be large and our main recourse must be the generosity of your own supporters. I feel sure nevertheless that in view of the very great importance of these efforts to further a real understanding of democracy in Germany you will continue to find public spirited persons who are willing to contribute to the good work. There is certainly no better cause nor one in which a comparatively modest sum can achieve greater results.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) BRIAN H. ROBERTSON

FOREIGN OFFICE,  
S.W.1.  
6th July, 1948

Dear King-Hall,

I write to express my sincere hope that you will be successful in enlisting the support of public-spirited men and firms who will make it possible for the Hansard Society to undertake the all-important task of making available to German politicians and officials instruction and information about all aspects of British parliamentary life. It is work of vital significance at this time, and can only be effectively and fruitfully carried out by an independent, non-party body such as the Hansard Society, which already enjoys the respect and esteem of German political opinion.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) ERNEST BEVIN

Upon receipt of these letters your Council considered the position and, having reached the conclusion that it was the obvious duty and privilege of the Hansard Society to meet this request, I was instructed to draw up plans in consultation with the political advisers of the Military Governor and other persons concerned.

It soon became clear when the plans were prepared and accepted by the authorities that, if we were to undertake this job, we would be starting a new and fruitful period in the history of the Society which would open up a limitless—I use that word deliberately—area of activity in the promotion of the objects for which the Society was formed and which you by your membership support.

In these circumstances it was decided to send to all members and associates a special communication which included copies of the two letters printed above and continued as follows:

“Considerations of space prevent me from going into details of the plans to meet the needs of the Military Governor and H.M.G., but it boils down to the fact that the time has come when, unless we are to confess our inability to carry out our job on the scale which is urgently required, we must obtain premises in which to house an adequate staff and in which to conduct our business with efficiency and dignity.

“We must in effect create a centre, institute or school for the work of spreading information about the institution of Parliament.

“I have mentioned this before as a dream of the future. Time has overtaken our speculations and the dream has become an immediate and practical necessity.

“A careful investigation has shown that we can make an adequate start with this affair with a sum of not less than £5,000, though £10,000 would be preferable.

“With a sum of this nature we can obtain a ten-roomed house, engage a paid assistant to help me in the day-to-day management of the Society, house our growing library and information department, establish a lecture department, and probably raise the membership from 2,000 to 5,000 or 7,500, and as a part of a great increase of activities organize a series of courses for German political leaders and civil servants.

“This house would be a headquarters which members could visit, and would provide editorial offices for *Parliamentary Affairs* and accommodation in which to organize study groups.

“All these things have been needed for the past twelve



months but the request from Germany has precipitated this crisis of expansion in our affairs.

"I need not tell the members of the Hansard Society that the course of world affairs does not permit those who believe in the value of free parliamentary institutions to lean back on the past with complacency in their hearts. We must be up and doing."

This communication was accompanied by an appeal for funds for Hansard House and all the staff and other requirements which are needed to establish the Society in adequate headquarters.

It is important that members should understand that although the request from His Majesty's Government to create facilities for the German project was the episode that brought our administrative and accommodation problems to a sudden pitch of emergency, we should, by 1st January, 1949, *at the latest*, have been faced with the absolute necessity of either refusing to carry on part of our work or of obtaining adequate premises and staff. The membership can be assured that we do not create work; it is thrust at us. Many interesting and practical plans for increasing the scope and public value of your Society have had to be put on one side but will become practicable as soon as we have adequate headquarters.

We hope that in the next issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* we shall be able to announce a satisfactory response to our appeal. The first results are coming in as we go to press and include a communication from our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Scott-Elliot, M.P., who has made an interest-free loan of £500 to the Society to be repayable at the discretion of the Council at any convenient time in the future and at the unfettered discretion of the Council.

The Society has been presented with the full copyright ownership of a new play written by your Honorary Director. It should of course be made clear that the Society has no responsibility for the contents of the play, but will simply draw royalties, film and radio rights from any production, in its capacity as sole owner of all rights in the play. The Council hold these rights in trust for the Society.

**The Press.** On 20th July *The Times* printed extracts from the two letters referred to above, and wrote in a leading article as follows:

#### “PARLIAMENTARY EDUCATION

“A well-deserved compliment has been paid to the Hansard Society by the British Commander-in-Chief in Germany, who has invoked its aid in the task of training Germans in the principles of parliamentary government. The Society grew out of the earlier Friends of Hansard, who began their work in 1939 with the modest aim of popularizing the reading of the official reports of parliamentary debates. They were so successful that a five-fold increase in the circulation of the official reports quickly followed. Later the Hansard Society was formed to develop their success and stimulate by various means the study of parliamentary institutions, as they operate not only at Westminster but in every country that believes in government by discussion. To this body General Robertson has turned for help. He proposes to send to England parties of Germans, drawn from various spheres of official and political life, to study Parliament and the elements of the British manner of life of which it is the fountain-head.

“As the Chairman of the Hansard Society says in a letter this morning, it is impossible to add the task proposed by General Robertson to the society’s other responsibilities until an adequate headquarters has been established. Such a headquarters would contain, it may be thought, the germ of something that is now lacking, a school or institute of parliamentary studies. The Hansard Society, however, is a strictly private venture of a number of enthusiasts for the parliamentary idea; it enjoys no financial support from public funds, and could accept none without sacrificing its disinterested character and incurring suspicion as an organ of official propaganda. The proposed headquarters can therefore only be established by the method of voluntary subscription. There should be a sufficient number of believers in the parliamentary idea, with a sense of the significance for the world of its absorption by Germans destined to leadership in their own country, to provide the modest endowment required.”

The *News Chronicle* in a leader on 21st July, 1948, wrote:

“SPREADING THE FAITH

“In that excess of modesty which is almost a vice, the Mother of Parliaments has been very typical of the people she serves. For our own peace of mind and, as we sincerely believe, for the good of other peoples, our most valuable export is the knowledge of how parliamentary institutions work.

“Yet until 1944 there was no society or organization in this country devoted to the study of Parliament. And now that one does exist—the Hansard Society—it is entirely dependent upon the voluntary contributions, in money and service, of a few thoughtful and far-sighted people.

“The Hansard Society works in a modest way at home and abroad disseminating information about Parliament. But an enormous task is opening up before it for the future. Some idea of the work that is waiting to be done has appeared in a letter in *The Times* yesterday.

“In this work our nation has a vital stake. We have lavished untold riches of blood and treasure upon the defence of democratic institutions. Surely we should spare no effort to see that their influence is spread and well established through knowledge and understanding.

“But if the work which has been started is to realize its immense potentialities there will have to be an impressive rally of private support to those who have begun it so well.”

The work of the Society also received friendly mention in the *Observer*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Yorkshire Post*, *Scotsman*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Sheffield Telegraph*, *Birmingham Gazette*, *Nottingham Journal*, *Oxford Mail*, *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, *Spectator*, *World Affairs*, and the *Friends' Quarterly*.

**The Library.** Brooks's Club has loaned to the Society a complete set of *Hansard* amounting to 650 volumes. This generous action makes available to students and research workers from all over the world one of the few complete sets of the proceedings of Parliament still in existence. At the same time this gift is yet another reason why we *must* have adequate premises.

**Annual Meeting.** The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held on 4th November, at 6 p.m., at Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1. Please do your best to attend. Your Council regard as of great importance the close personal interest of the members in our work, and the Annual Meeting is the chief inquest into our affairs and the best opportunity available to your Council (and to your Hon. Director) at which to ascertain your opinions.

I ask our 500 Corporate Members not to regard this Annual Meeting as a formality, but to appoint a representative and ask him or her to make a brief report for the benefit of the firm or association he or she represents.

**Membership.** On the 1st August the total membership of the Hansard Society had reached the figure of 2,057. The figures for 1st February and 1st May were 1,611 and 2,029 respectively. The renewal percentage is round about 75 per cent. This is good, but even allowing for the inevitability of death it could (I calculate) be about 80 per cent. In these difficult times there is a certain temptation to cancel subscriptions to societies. The very nature of the world's political troubles makes membership of the Hansard Society the minimum contribution due from any citizen of a democratic country. To abandon membership of the Hansard Society is to surrender to defeatism.

**What Members can do.** The following are some of the helpful activities which may commend themselves to members.

- (a) Respond to the appeal for Hansard House.
- (b) Recruit for our membership.
- (c) If director of a firm, take a page of advertising space in the Journal. This is a thoroughly commercial proposition. Rate cards will be sent on application.
- (d) If you live in or near London and speak German, send your name and address to the Secretary. You will receive a further communication.
- (e) If you are a Member of Parliament, make speeches in your constituency about the work of the Society.

- (f) If you are a Member of Parliament visiting Belgium, Italy or Canada, report this fact to the Secretary.

**News from Overseas Societies.** *Italy.* The Hon. Director was in Rome in June and met various Italian personalities who are in process of forming an Italian Committee for the study of parliamentary affairs. The President of the Italian Republic, Signor Einaudi, is taking a personal interest in this matter and expressed to the Hon. Director of the British Society his conviction that the work would be of great value in Italy. The President is well acquainted with the publications of the British Society and was good enough to say some very nice things about *Parliamentary Affairs*.

*Belgium.* After The Hague Congress, the Hon. Director visited Brussels and discussed various matters with Madame Bohy, Hon. Secretary of Connaissance du Parlement. The Belgian Society is publishing a series of pamphlets in French and Flemish on Belgium's national democratic institutions. This is one of a series produced for the Army Educational Service.

*Canada.* The Hansard Society of Canada (Société Hansard du Canada) is holding its first Annual Meeting in Toronto about the end of October. Any member of the British Hansard Society who will be in Canada about that time should communicate immediately with the Secretary, The Hansard Society, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1. The Canadian Society expects to hold its first youth conference at the University of Toronto on 6th November. The Canadian Society has issued the following statement to 95 daily papers and 400 weekly papers in Canada.

"The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion is releasing on 16th June, the results of a Gallup Poll which shows that only 30 per cent. of adult Canadians know what *Hansard* is. More men (41 per cent.) know about it than women (18 per cent.); more Westerners (34 per cent.) than Maritimers (25 per cent.); more business men (36 per cent.) than workers (15 per cent.). Quite surprising is that one-third of those listed as 'big business and professional men' don't know of *Hansard*.

"It was the fact that not one in 2,000 Canadian voters subscribed to 'parliament's daily newspaper' which set the Canadian Friends of Hansard to work. Their efforts have resulted in doubling the circulation of *Hansard*.

"At the end of the war, with the challenge to the democratic system, the Friends of Hansard decided greatly to enlarge their activity, in the belief that the real long-term answer to Communism is more activity by democrats.

"The Hansard Society of Canada, formed early this year, will hold Youth Conferences on parliament; sponsor documentary films on parliament for showing in schools, clubs, union meetings and community centres; and help form local Hansard Clubs, to follow the doings of parliament during the session."

There are now two Hansard Clubs in Canada which co-operate with the Society. One is in Toronto and the other is in Montreal. They meet fortnightly, the members take it in turns to condense the main subjects mentioned in the Canadian *Hansard*, and a discussion follows which sometimes results in a letter to the local M.P.

The Hansard Society of Canada on 30th June, numbered 214 members, including 32 founder members.

### Stop Press

As we go to press I am able to announce that a member of the Society who wishes to remain anonymous has given us the sum of £5,000 in response to our appeal for Hansard House. In round figures a further sum of approximately £2,000 has been received from corporate members, individual members, and donations from members of the public desirous of supporting our work. We are now trying to find a suitable property in the Westminster area. We look for a house of about 14 rooms which can be used as offices. Does anyone know of anything of this nature which is available?

## POETRY AND POLITICS

*An anthology compiled by Muriel Spark*

*(Mrs. Spark is the General Secretary of the Poetry Society and Editor of "The Poetry Review.")*

FROM the very earliest times political affairs have influenced the poet in his work and, paradoxically, poetry of a political nature has flourished in times when it has been most dangerous for the author to be guilty of utterance for or against political factions. It is easier to write ambiguously in poetry than in prose and possibly this explains why surreptitious and sly comments on various forms of government have been made in verse throughout the centuries; this applies to the oldest of the nursery rhymes (most of which had a political significance) as well as to the recent poetry of the French resistance.

In the fourteenth century the political lyric was the favourite means by which gleemen and minstrels courted the people. These ballads are full of reference to the government of the day—usually in complaint against injustice. A political poem with a satirical flavour of the early fourteenth century denounces the violation of Magna Carta:

For might is right, the land is lawless, for night is light,  
the land is loreless, for fight is flight, the land is  
nameless. . . .

Poetic drama was the principal vehicle for political poetry in the reign of Elizabeth. Tongue in cheek, dramatists expressed, through the lips of court fool, gravedigger or courtier, what they would not have been able conveniently to write in straightforward prose. Shakespeare, of course, was an agile practitioner of this form of subtlety.

Political verse was popular, and reached its peak, in the seventeenth century when it was a common thing for poets of genius such as Marvell (Member for Hull) and

Milton (Foreign Secretary) to be active parliamentarians. Commonwealth supporters amongst the poets were responsible for eulogistic odes addressed to Cromwell and his followers whilst the Royalists lay low, to emerge at the Restoration with elaborate panegyrics dedicated to the restored Monarch. Dryden, always adaptable, celebrated both Protector and King in their separate times with equally adulatory stanzas in the heroic measure. Pope, Dryden and Marvell were also keen satirists, the political satire being by far the best medium for the propagandist and pamphleteer; and a successful satire, published at an opportune moment, was often instrumental in influencing public opinion.

With the Romantic revival toward the end of the eighteenth century and the relaxation of the laws of treason, politics became less a subject for poetry than for the essay or tract, although there have been many outstanding examples of poems on the subject of government and parliamentary figures from Goldsmith to the present day. For the purposes of the following selection, however, emphasis has been laid upon the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the heyday of political verse.

### WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)

From *King Henry V*

*Duke of Exeter*: While that the armed hand doth fight abroad,  
 The advised head defends itself at home;  
 For government, though high, and low, and  
     lower,  
 Put into parts, doth keep in one consent;  
 Congreeing in a full and natural close,  
 Like music.

### JOHN MILTON (1608-1674)

*In the following poem Milton referred to the abolition of the Prayer Book (Liturgie) and the Episcopacy by Parliament in 1639. A. S., Rotherford and Edwards mentioned in the poem are the names of prominent Presbyterian pamphleteers of the time. "Scotch*



*what d'ye call" is Milton's contemptuous way of referring to a Scots professor who had attacked him. "Bauk (spare) your ears" alludes to the case of an unfortunate lawyer who had lost his ears by order of the Star Chamber.*

*On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*

Because you have thrown of your Prelate Lord,  
 And with stiff Vowes renounc'd his Liturgie  
 To seize the widdow'd whore Pluralitie  
 From them whose sin ye envi'd, not abhor'd,  
 Dare ye for this adjure the Civil Sword  
 To force our Consciences that Christ set free  
 And ride us with a classic Hierarchy  
 Taught ye by meer *A. S.* and *Rotherford*?  
 Men whose Life, Learning, Faith and Pure intent  
 Would have been held in high esteem with *Paul*  
 Must now be nam'd and printed Hereticks  
 By shallow *Edwards* and Scotch what d'ye call:  
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,  
 Your plots and packing wors then those of *Trent*,  
 That so the Parliament  
 May with their wholsom and preventive Shears  
 Clip your Phylacteries, though bauk your Ears,  
 And succour our just Fears  
 When they shall read this clearly in your charge  
*New Presbyter* is but *Old Priest* writ Large.

#### RICHARD LOVELACE (1618-1658)

*Lovelace, a romantic and tragic figure and a staunch Royalist, was chosen by the county of Kent to present a petition to the House of Commons in favour of the King. This he undertook willingly although he could not have been surprised when the petition was ordered to be burned by the Common Hangman and he himself imprisoned in the Gatehouse Prison. It was from there he wrote the poem from which the following extract is taken:*

From *To Althea From Prison*  
 When like committed linnets, I  
 With shriller throat shall sing

The sweetness, mercy, majesty,  
 And glories of my King;  
 When I shall voice aloud, how good  
 He is, how great should be,  
 Enlarged winds that curl the flood  
 Know no such liberty.

Stone walls do not a prison make,  
 Nor iron bars a cage;  
 Minds innocent and quiet take  
 That for an hermitage;  
 If I have freedom in my love,  
 And in my soul am free,  
 Angels alone, that soar above,  
 Enjoy such liberty.

#### ANDREW MARVELL (1621-1678)

*One of the foremost politicians of his day, Marvell was also a considerable poet and satirist. He represented Hull in Parliament and although he inclined strongly towards the Republicans he was not blind to their faults. After the Restoration he was instrumental in saving some of his friends, amongst whom was the poet Milton, from the wrath of the avenging monarchists, although he himself continued to attack the new government by pamphlet and poetic satire.*

*The extract given below was written during the Commonwealth, and is an example of the political poetry of Marvell as apart from his satires:*

From *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness  
 the Lord Protector*

Such was that wondrous order and consent,  
 When Cromwell tuned the ruling instrument;  
 While tedious statesmen many years did hack,  
 Framing a liberty that still went back;  
 Whose numerous gorge could swallow in an hour,  
 That island which the sea cannot devour:

'The Commonwealth then first together came,  
And each one entered in the willing frame.

All other matter yields, and may be ruled,  
But who the minds of stubborn men can build?  
No quarry bears a stone so hardly wrought,  
Nor with such labour from its centre brought:  
None to be sunk in the foundation bends,  
Each in the house the highest place contends;  
And each the hand that lays him will direct,  
And some fall back upon the architect;  
Yet all, composed by his attractive song,  
Into the animated city throng.

The Commonwealth does through their centres all  
Draw the circumference of the public wall;  
The crossest spirits here do take their part,  
Fastening the contignation which they thwart:  
And they whose nature leads them to divide,  
Uphold, this one, and that the other side;  
But the most equal still sustain the height,  
And they, as pillars, keep the work upright,  
While the resistance of opposèd minds  
The fabric, as with arches, stronger binds;  
Which, on the basis of a senate free,  
Knit by the roof's protecting weight, agree.

*Yet Marvell was never antagonistic to the individual Royalists whom he knew and respected, as the following lines to the Cavalier Lovelace will testify:*

From *To His Noble Friend, Mr. Richard Lovelace, Upon his Poems*

The barbèd censurers begin to look  
Like the grim Consistory on thy book;  
And on each line cast a reforming eye,  
Severer than the young Presbytery.  
Till when in vain they have thee all perused,  
You shall for being faultless be accused.  
Some reading your *Lucasta* will allege  
You wronged in her the Houses' privilege;

## JOHN DRYDEN (1631-1700)

Born of a Puritan family, Dryden's first work of any importance was his "*Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell*" to be followed two years later by "*Astraea Redux*", a poem in celebration of the Restoration. Examples from both poems are given below. Dryden's most important political poem, however, was "*Absalom and Achitophel*", a clever satire occasioned by the arrest of the Earl of Shaftesbury on a charge of high treason "for conspiring for the death of the King and the subversion of the Government". The Earl of Shaftesbury, leader of the Whigs, caused a Bill to be introduced to Parliament excluding the Roman Catholic Duke of York from inheritance of the throne, in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. The House of Lords rejected the Bill and Parliament was dissolved. Shaftesbury was imprisoned in the Tower shortly afterwards, Dryden's poem appearing a few days before the trial. The Duke of Monmouth, Shaftesbury, the King, and other leading figures are satirized in the characters of Absalom, Achitophel, David, etc., and in his apologia introducing the poem, Dryden shrewdly observes "*The Design, I am sure, is honest: but he who draws his Pen for one Party must expect to make Enemies of the other. For Wit and Fool are Consequents of Whig and Tory: and every man is a Knave or an Ass to the contrary side.*" Dryden was taking no chances.

*From Heroick Stanzas, consecrated to the Memory of His Highness,  
Oliver, Late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth.*

Such was our Prince, yet own'd a Soul above  
The highest Acts it could produce to show:  
Thus poor Mechanick Arts in Publick move,  
Whilst the deep Secrets beyond Practice go.

Nor dy'd he when his Ebbing Fame went less,  
But when fresh Laurels courted him to live:  
He seem'd but to prevent some new Success,  
As if above what Triumphs Earth could give.

No Civil Broils have since his Death arose,  
But Faction now, by Habit, does obey;

And Wars have that Respect for his Repose  
As winds for *Halcyons* when they breed at Sea.

From *Astraea Redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return  
of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*

From his long absence Church and State did groan;  
Madness the Pulpit, Faction seiz'd the Throne:  
Experienc'd Age in deep despair was lost  
To see the Rebel thrive, the Loyal crost:  
Youth that with Joys had unacquainted been  
Envy'd gray hairs that once good Days had seen:

EDMUND WALLER (1606-1687)

*Although Waller was a Royalist by claim and family, he was perhaps even more conformable than Dryden to the changing political parties. The verses he addressed to the Protector during the latter's lifetime are considered to be among his best work. At the Restoration, Waller produced a poem for the King, and when Charles II pointed out that this was inferior to the poem written earlier for Cromwell, Waller made the ingenious reply: "Poets, Sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth". Edmund Waller was a Member of Parliament at the age of 16, where he remained for a considerable time under the Commonwealth. After the Restoration he was again in Parliament, until his death.*

From *A Panegyric to My Lord Protector of the Present Greatness of  
this Nation*

While with a strong, and yet a gentle, hand,  
You bridle faction, and our hearts command,  
Protect us from ourselves, and from the foe,  
Make us unite and make us conquer too:

Let partial spirits still aloud complain,  
Think themselves injured that they cannot reign,  
And own no liberty, but where they may  
Without control upon their fellows prey.

Illustrious acts high raptures do infuse:  
 And every conqueror creates a Muse:  
 Here in low strains your milder deeds we sing;  
 But there, my lord! we'll bays and olives bring

To crown your head, while you in triumph ride  
 O'er vanquished nations, and the sea beside;  
 While all your neighbour princes unto you,  
 Like Joseph's sheaves, pay reverence and bow.

From *On the Statue of King Charles I at Charing Cross*  
 That the First Charles does here in triumph ride,  
 See his son reign where he a martyr died,  
 And people pay that reverence as they pass,  
 (Which then he wanted!) to the sacred brass,

. . . . .  
 That mortals may eternally be taught  
 Rebellion, though successful, is but vain,  
 And kings so killed rise conquerors again.

### JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745) .

*Better known, with his contemporaries Addison and Defoe, as a writer of political journals and of novels, Swift was a poetic satirist of some merit. He was a Whig up to 1710 and then took up the Tory cause in a series of political pamphlets. In the following extract Swift imagined some reactions to his own death, giving some political side-lights of the age.*

From *Lines on the Death of Dr. Swift*

From Dublin soon to London spread  
 'Tis told at Court—'The Dean is dead'.  
 Kind Lady Suffolk, in the spleen,  
 Runs laughing up to tell the queen.  
 The queen, so gracious, mild and good  
 Cries 'Is he gone? 'tis time he should.  
 He's dead, you say, then let him rot,  
 I'm glad the medals were forgot.

I promised him, I own, but when?  
 I only was the princess then,  
 But now, as consort of the king,  
 You know, 'tis quite a different thing'.

. . . . .

. . . turn religion to a fable  
 And make the government a Babel,  
 Pervert the laws, disgrace the gown,  
 Corrupt the senate, rob the crown,  
 To sacrifice Old England's glory  
 And make her infamous in story.  
 When such a tempest shook the land  
 How could unguarded Virtue stand!  
 With horror, grief, despair, the Dean  
 Beheld the dire destructive scene.

. . . . .

He vented oft his wrath in vain  
 On (bankrupt) squires to market brought:  
 Who sell their souls and (votes) for nought:

. . . . .

Those who their ignorance confest  
 He ne'er offended with a jest  
 But laugh'd to hear an idiot quote  
 A verse from Horace, learn'd by rote.  
 He knew a hundred pleasing stories  
 With all the turns of Whigs and Tories.

#### ALEXANDER POPE (1688-1744)

*The reign of William of Orange and Mary was fraught with political intrigue, satirized, as we have seen, by the poets and writers of their day. Pope was twelve years old when Dryden died, and two years later Queen Anne succeeded William. This was the age of fierce opposition between Whig and Tory, great battles in Europe, and the South Sea Bubble. Pope was a virulent satirist and scarcely a public figure escaped from his pointed, witty style. In 1709 Pope observed:*

Now Europe balanced, neither side prevails;  
 For nothing's left in either of the scales.

*and alludes in the following passage to the notorious Mr. Knight, cashier of the South Sea Company, who disappeared with the funds. Incidentally, the poem from which the extract is taken is a satire on the follies of the court of George II, styled as a British Augustus.*

But those who cannot write, and those who can,  
All rhyme, and scrawl, and scribble, to a man.

Yet, sir, reflect, the mischief is not great;  
These madmen never hurt the Church or State;  
Sometimes the folly benefits mankind;  
And rarely avarice taints the tuneful mind.  
Allow him but his plaything of a pen,  
He ne'er rebels, or plots, like other men;  
Flight of cashiers, or mobs, he'll never mind;  
And knows no losses while the Muse is kind.

### JOHN BYROM

*In 1745 the Young Pretender's effort to secure the throne for the Stuarts fired the enthusiasm of the poets, and there was no lack of witty epigrams on the affair. John Byrom, a Fellow of the Royal Society and inventor of a shorthand system, made the following rhyme:*

God bless the King! I mean the Faith's Defender!  
God bless (No harm in blessing!) the Pretender!  
But who the Pretender is, or who is King—  
God bless us all!—that's quite another thing!

### OLIVER GOLDSMITH (1728-1774)

*Goldsmith numbered among his friends some of the greatest men in England (Johnson, Burke, Reynolds) as well as the unknown and the needy, and this wideness of outlook gave his work a universal application. For this reason, the passage quoted below might apply to any age and régime.*

Vain, very vain, my weary search to find  
That bliss which only centers in the mind:  
Why have I stray'd from pleasure and repose,  
To seek a good each government bestows?



In every government, though terrors reign,  
 Though tyrant kings, or tyrant laws restrain,  
 How small of all that human hearts endure,  
 That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.

### ROBERT BURNS (1759-1796)

*On a Monday morning of 1790 Burns wrote the poem from which the following lines are taken. It will be seen from the title how rich this poem is in references to contemporary affairs of State.*

*From Lines written to a Gentleman who had sent him a Newspaper and offered to continue it free of Expense.*

Kind Sir, I've read your paper through,  
 And, faith, to me 'twas really new!  
 How guess'd ye, Sir, what maist I wanted?  
 This mony a day I've grain'd and gaunted  
 To ken what French mischief was brewin';  
 Or what the drumlie Dutch were doin';  
 That vile doup-skelper, Emperor Joseph,  
 If Venus yet had got his nose off;

Or how our merry lads at hame,  
 In Britain's Court, kept up the game:  
 How royal George, the Lord leuk o'er him!  
 Was managing St. Stephen's quorum;  
 If sleekit Chatham Will was livin'  
 Or glaikit Charlie got his nieve in;  
 How daddie Burke the plea was cookin';  
 If Warren Hastings' neck was yeukin';

### GEORGE CRABBE (1754-1832)

*A picture of an Election in a nineteenth century village is given by George Crabbe, a humanitarian poet and clergyman.*

*From Elections*

Yes, our Election's past, and we've been free,  
 Somewhat as madmen without keepers be;

And such desire of freedom has been shown,  
That both the parties wish'd her all their own:

. . . . .  
True! you might then your party's sign produce,  
And so escape with only half the abuse;  
With half the danger as you walk'd along,  
With rage and threat'ning but from half the throng:  
This you might do, and not your fortune mend,  
For where you lost a foe, you gain'd a friend;  
And to distress you, vex you, and expose,  
Election-friends are worse than any foes;  
The party-curse is with the canvass past,  
But party-friendship, for your grief, will last.

*Amongst political poetry a great deal is to be found that is anonymous. The principal reason for this is obvious, namely—as Dr. Alex Comfort would say—"public health." One of the best-known and wittiest of these lyrics is "The Vicar of Bray", a stanza of which is quoted below. The rulers of England, from Charles II to George I, are enumerated together with their various modes of government and intolerances. "The Vicar of Bray" gives allegiance, in turn, to them all.*

In good King Charles's golden days,  
When loyalty no harm meant;  
A furious High-Church man was I,  
And so I got preferment.  
Unto my flock I daily preached  
Kings are by God appointed,  
And damned are those who dare resist  
Or touch the Lord's annointed.  
And this is the law, I will maintain  
Unto my dying day, Sir,  
That whatsoever king shall reign,  
I will be Vicar of Bray, Sir.

## THE NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS

THE foundation stone of the new Chamber of the House of Commons was laid on 26th May by the Speaker, Colonel Clifton Brown. Accompanying the Speaker at the ceremony were the Prime Minister; Mr. Churchill; the Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Ancaster; Lord Winterton, the "Father" of the House of Commons; the Dean of Westminster; Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, the architect of the new Chamber; Mr. Morrison, Lord President of the Council; and Mr. Key, the Minister of Works. Mrs. Neville Chamberlain was among those who witnessed the proceedings.

The Prime Minister said: "Mr. Speaker, we are met to lay the foundation stone of the new Commons Chamber. Most of us here will remember vividly that night when our old House was destroyed. We recall our emotion when we saw the Chamber, which held for us so many memories, in ruins.

"Hitler may have thought that by destroying our Chamber he was delivering a blow against democracy. But the House of Commons is not a building. It is a living fellowship, renewed through the centuries, changing in its membership, but always in essence the same. The war-time House of Commons continued to meet throughout the war undismayed by bomb or rocket. But, Sir, in whatever Chamber it met, the arrangements of its Chair, its Table and seats preserved the pattern of its original.

"The new Chamber, which is now arising, will by the wise decision of the war-time Parliament reproduce the features of its predecessor, for its form has had no small effect on the development of our parliamentary system. It will, I know, be the hope of all of us that this new Chamber will remain through the years that lie ahead, unscarred by wars, unchanged in essentials, the place wherein free British men and women, freely elected, speak fearlessly and serve the common weal."

Mr. Churchill said: "Mr. Speaker, my Lords, Ladies and

Gentlemen, I gladly associate myself with what the Prime Minister has so well said about the former Chamber and I feel that we owe him a debt—and his colleagues a debt—for having adhered, in spite of some temptation to the contrary, to the form of the Chamber which we agreed to in the war-time Government. I am quite sure that in this way a greater continuity will be maintained in our parliamentary institutions.

“No one can easily say what was the great age of parliaments, but the Victorian era, with its great figures of debate, may well be regarded as what the age of the Antonines was in the history of ancient Rome, may always claim to hold its own in British history as a great parliamentary period in which the ideas of constitutional parliamentary government which we had evolved in this island, spread widely not only throughout the British Commonwealth, but into many other countries where in different degrees they still in many cases flourish. I, personally, look forward very much to the completion of this Chamber, and I hope the laying of the foundation stone will cause no break in the relaxation of the efforts to complete it; for I am quite sure that it will be with feelings of the keenest satisfaction that all Members who sat in the former Chamber will find themselves back again in surroundings which, although less magnificent, will be more familiar.

“I feel a great cordiality of agreement with the Prime Minister in what he has said about the power and value of parliamentary institutions. The House of Commons is a living and deathless entity; it survived unflinching the tests and hazards of war; it preserved our constitutional liberties under our ancient monarchy in a manner which has given a sense of stability, not only in this island but as an example to nations in many lands. May the stone which is now laid support and sustain a fabric which, however events may go, however our fortunes may go, will still preserve the rights and privileges of free debate and permit the development of our national life under the guidance of an institution which all the world recognizes as one of the great features of the civilized world.”

Lord Winterton, in inviting Mr. Speaker to lay the foundation stone, said: “Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was a most pleasant

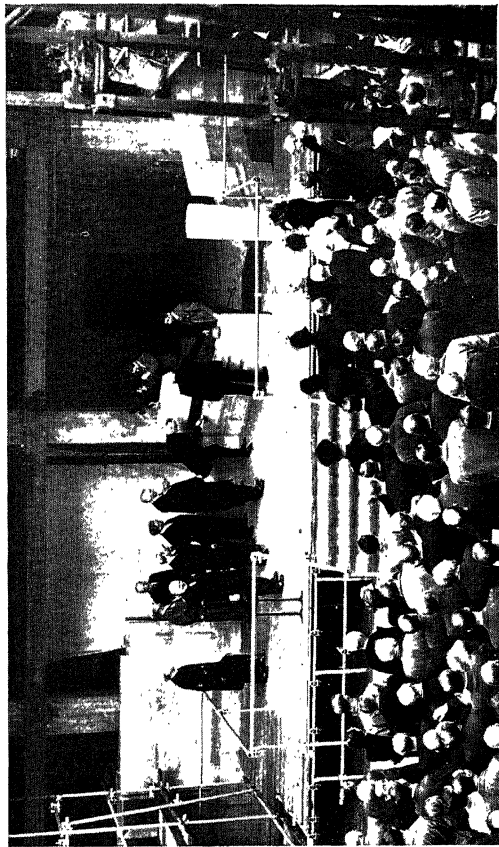
surprise when you suggested to me some time ago that I should say a word of introduction and ask you to lay the foundation stone. I do so in a dual capacity as 'Father' of the House of Commons—that is the senior Member by length of continuous service—and Chairman of the Select Committee on the Rebuilding of the Chamber.

"This Committee on the Rebuilding of the Chamber, in happy contradistinction to its predecessor which was appointed after the fire which destroyed the then chamber in the thirties of the last century, presented recommendations which represented almost unanimity in the Committee; and the recommendations were accepted *nemine contradicente* by the House of Commons.

"I feel sure that I am expressing the sentiments of all of us assembled here today, irrespective of party, when I say that I hope the new Chamber will prove to be a worthy habitation for the oldest and, as we believe, the finest and greatest legislative assembly in the world. Mr. Speaker, Sir, will you now perform the ceremony."

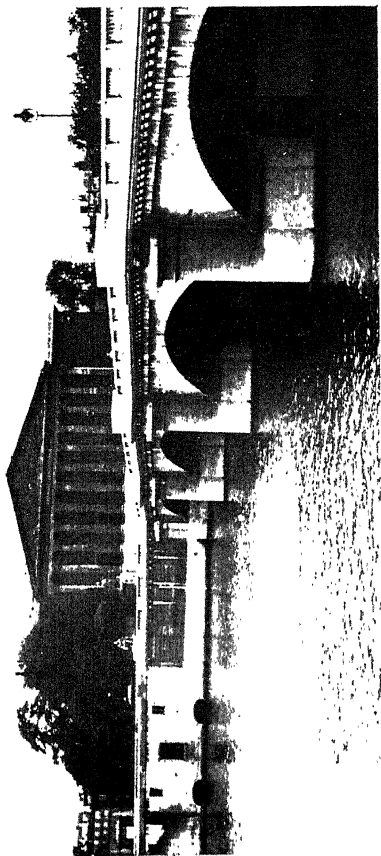
Before laying the stone, the Speaker said: "In compliance with that request, I should like to tell you that the mallet which I am about to use in laying the stone is one of the mallets which were used a hundred years ago when the Palace of Westminster was built; and the trowel will be a modern trowel that has already been used in constructing the foundations of this building; and its handle is composed of oak which has been saved from the blitz when the House of Commons was destroyed. By that means we are linking the present with the past. We are being faithful to those traditions of continuity which are such a proud and vital matter in our House of Commons life, and which we all, I feel sure, cherish so dearly. On the stone which I am about to lay I trust there will arise a building which all the world will ever see and know and recognize as the home of liberty; the House of free debate; the very citadel of free democracy."

After laying the stone, Mr. Speaker said: "I now declare that this stone has been well and truly laid. God bless the new House of Commons."



The Speaker, Colonel Clifton Brown, laying the foundation stone of the new Chamber of the House of Commons, 26th May, 1948.

*Courtesy: Ministry of Works. Crown copyright reserved.*



The north front of the Palais Bourbon, facing the Pont de la Concorde, Paris.

*Courtesy: Foreign Information Service, French Ministry of Youth, Arts and Letters.*

## LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD—II

### THE PALAIS BOURBON

by D. W. S. LIDDERDALE

*(Mr. Lidderdale is a Senior Clerk in the House of Commons. He is the author of a book on the French Parliament which the Hansard Society will publish in the near future.)*

PARIS, unlike London, has no one building or group of buildings associated with the sittings of the national Parliament as a whole. Before the Revolution the States-General had never been allotted any permanent place of meeting, and had been summoned to several cities besides Paris—to Tours, Orléans and Blois, for example. In 1789 they were convened at Versailles. The first Constituent Assembly, which came into being at Versailles, moved to Paris in October, 1789. It then sat in the Tuileries, as did its successors, the Legislative Assembly and the Convention. In 1795 France for the first time had a two-chamber Parliament, and for a short period both chambers sat in different parts of the Tuileries. The first chamber (the Council of Five Hundred) soon moved, however, to the Palais Bourbon. Some ten years later the Senate of the First Empire was installed in the Palais du Luxembourg, where the Chamber of Peers of the restored Monarchy and the Senates of the Second Empire, and (from 1879 onwards) of the Third Republic, also sat, and where the Council of the Republic sits today. In so far as the French Parliament has a single centre, it is the Château of Versailles. Here the two chambers of the Third Republic met, in separate halls, from 1876 to 1879; and here from time to time they held joint meetings, as the National Assembly, to elect a President of the Republic or to amend the Constitution. Here also in January, 1947, the present two chambers met together as the Parliament (*le Parlement*) of the Fourth Republic to elect its first President. It is, however, with the two quite separate buildings of the Palais Bourbon and the Palais du Luxembourg



that the meetings of French parliamentary assemblies are mainly associated.

The history of the Palais Bourbon itself begins early in the eighteenth century. A hundred years previously Paris, on the left bank of the Seine, was still mainly confined to an area opposite the Ile de la Cité. Beyond this to the west there stretched an open area of meadows and marshland (the frogs from which were at one time sold in a market not far from where the Palais Bourbon now stands). Part of this area was known as the Pré-aux-Clercs and belonged to the nearby Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. It was a famous resort first for students from the University, later for gentlemen of the court, for the holding of duels—a practice which the royal administration tried in vain to stop, but which the Abbot finally ended by enclosing the land with a wall. Within this area was the site now occupied by the buildings of the Assembly.

During the seventeenth century building began to creep westwards down the Seine, and near the beginning of the eighteenth the embankment known as the Quai d'Orsay was begun. At about this time begins the individual history of the site now occupied by the Palais Bourbon. In 1718 this was bought from the Abbot on the King's behalf, in order that new quarters might be built on it for the First Company of Musketeers. The plan came to nothing as the site was found to be too small, even when a piece of adjacent ground was added through an exchange of land between the King and the Dowager Duchess of Bourbon.

The Duchess herself, however, now decided to build in the neighbourhood. She bought back the land which the King had received in exchange and added it to adjoining land already in her possession. Here, in 1722, the Italian architect Girardini began to build for her the Hôtel Bourbon. A very pleasant residence it must have been, with a terrace overlooking the river on one side, and on the other a vast courtyard planted with chestnut trees, from which an ornamental gateway led on to the road (the rue de l'Université). At about the same time there was built next door, to the west, the Hôtel de Lassay, which still stands (with an additional storey built in the

reign of Louis Philippe), and is the residence of the President of the Assembly.

Some forty years later the Prince de Condé, who had inherited the Duchess of Bourbon's estates, decided to make this portion of them habitable for a nobleman of his magnificence. The site now commanded a superb view across the Seine to the Tuileries garden and the trees of the Champs Elysées, laid down in the previous century. It was not large enough, however, for the Prince, who acquired still more land, including the Hôtel de Lassay, and in 1765 began to erect a much more elaborate assembly of buildings, to be known as the Palais Bourbon. The chief architect was Claude Billard de Bélisart (or Bellissard). Condé first inhabited it in 1777, and continued to add to it and to spend money freely upon it. By 1789 it was considered one of the finest buildings in Paris. But he was not to enjoy it for long. Soon after the outbreak of the Revolution he and his family fled from France and in 1790, as a result of the decree under which the property of emigrés was confiscated, the palace became state property.

In 1795, its history as the home of French legislative assemblies at last begins. On 18th September of that year the Convention decreed that it should be the meeting place of the Council of Five Hundred, the first chamber under the new Constitution, and should be suitably modified for this purpose. It was not ready for occupation until 26th February, 1798, when it was opened with great solemnity. The Five Hundred sat there until 9th November, 1799, when, by resolution of the Council of Ancients, they were moved to St. Cloud, in the course of the *coup d'état* of Brumaire. Napoleon, however, made it the seat of the Legislative Body (*Corps législatif*) set up under the Constitution of 1799. The classical façade, which still faces the Seine, was built in the years 1804-7. At the Restoration the Palace was returned by law to the Condé family, but leased to the Chamber of Deputies. It was also the seat of the Chamber of Representatives during the Hundred Days.

In 1827 it was bought by the Government and became the established home of the Chamber of Deputies. Considerable

repairs were by now needed. In 1828 the construction of a new Chamber was ordered. During the rebuilding a temporary hall was put up in the gardens and it was in this that, on 9th August, 1830, King Louis Philippe swore to observe the Charter and received the oaths of the peers and deputies. The new hall was completed in November, 1832.

As a result of the rebuilding the Palais Bourbon and the various buildings connected with it assumed the form which, with minor changes and some additions, they have kept till today.<sup>1</sup> There have, however, been further breaks in its history. The Constituent Assembly of 1848 used the Palace but the Chamber was not large enough to contain its nine hundred members. A special hall was built of wood in forty days, in the main courtyard which it almost filled. This was also used by the Legislative Assembly, which had 750 members. After the *coup d'état* of 1851 Napoleon III allotted the hall of the former Chamber of Deputies (that is, the one still in use) to the Legislative Body which sat there until its last meeting on 4th September, 1870. The National Assembly, which succeeded it in the following year, sat first at Bordeaux and then at Versailles, where it was succeeded in 1876 by the two Chambers of the Third Republic. It was not till 27th November, 1879, that the new Chamber of Deputies moved into the Palais Bourbon. Here it was to remain until the last days of the Third Republic. It met in Paris for the last time on 16th May, 1940 and then moved first to Bordeaux and later to Vichy, where the sad end of its almost seventy-five years of history took place on 10th July. During the occupation the Palace was used as offices by the Germans. It was involved in the street fighting at the liberation and a small section of one wing was burnt. It returned to what may now be called its traditional use when the Provisional Consultative Assembly (which had first met at Algiers in 1943) was installed there on 7th November, 1944. The two Constituent Assemblies

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of the history of the site and buildings of the Palace up to this time was given by Jules de Jolly, Architect to the Government and the Chamber of Deputies, in the introduction to his *Plans, Coupes, Elévations et Détails de la Restauration de la Chambre des Députés* (Paris, 1840).

followed it. Finally, on 28th November, 1946, the National Assembly under the new Constitution held its first meeting there and the Palais Bourbon became once more the seat of the first chamber of the French Republic.

The Palace is thus today a collection of buildings the dates of which vary from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the twentieth. The aspect of them most familiar to English visitors is probably the Napoleonic classical façade, with its twelve Corinthian columns and flight of steps, which looks across the Pont de la Concorde as shown in the illustration, facing page 27. It formerly bore the words "Chambre des Deputés" in gold lettering, but these were replaced at the beginning of the Fourth Republic by the new title of "Assemblée Nationale", a special act being passed to authorize the issue of the necessary gold from the Banque de France.<sup>1</sup>

This façade, though it contains one of the two main entrances to the Palace, gives a somewhat misleading idea of the extent and lay-out of the buildings as a whole. These form an irregular quadrilateral, the sides of which are each about two hundred yards long and face approximately north, south, east and west. About half of the northern side consists of the classical façade and the flanking buildings of the Palais Bourbon proper; the other half of the gardens in front of the Hôtel de Lassay. This orientation conforms with the roughly east to west course taken by the western portions of the Quai d'Orsay and the rue de l'Université, which form respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the Palace. But the regularity of the northern side is broken in its eastern half. The Quai makes a considerable bend opposite the eastern end of the Hôtel de Lassay, with the result that the Pont de la Concorde (which was built more than twenty years after Condé had begun his rebuilding) runs, not north, but roughly north-north-east. The architect Poyet had thus to fit a façade facing in the latter direction on to a building, the main axis of which was north to south—a problem which recalls that caused to Barry at Westminster by the fact that Westminster Hall is not

<sup>1</sup> The neighbouring Metro station still commemorates the older title.

parallel to the Embankment. This irregularity is masked on the outside by the ornamental garden at the north-east corner of the Palace and concealed on the inside through the arrangement of the rooms surrounding the Chamber.

The true front of the main building is on the opposite side. It faces almost due south and is the original façade of Condé's palace. It contains the main doorways leading into the lobbies—the *couloirs* frequently mentioned by political correspondents. These form three sides of a square within which lies the focal point of the whole Palace—the Chamber (*la Salle des Séances*) itself. This is semi-circular in shape. At the centre of its diameter stands the high dais upon which the President sits, looking down at the orator's tribune before him, and beyond that up to the benches which rise in ten arcs. French parliamentary chambers have taken a form resembling this ever since the day when the servants of Louis XVI arranged the benches for the States-General in an elongated semi-circle. Each deputy has his own seat and a desk formed by the back of the seat in front. Parties choose their positions according to their politics, left or right of the President, or in the centre. The political sense of these three words, now so familiar, first came into use in the early revolutionary assemblies.

To the west of the Palace proper lies the Hôtel de Lassay, the elegant and richly furnished residence of the President of the Assembly. From the block formed by the two buildings, three wings of offices, committee rooms, etc., run south to the rue de l'Université. The eastern contains the library, which has a ceiling painted by Delacroix and fortunately escaped damage when neighbouring rooms were burnt in 1944. Between this and the central wing lie the extensive inner and outer courts of the Palace, the Cour d'Honneur and Cour Principale. These are bounded on the north by Condé's façade. At the opposite end, facing the Place du Palais Bourbon, stands the main gateway, the second principal entrance to the precincts of the Palace.

## STANDING FOR PARLIAMENT

by NIGEL NICOLSON

*(Mr. Nicolson is prospective parliamentary candidate for West Leicester. He served with the Grenadier Guards during the war and wrote their official war history. He is at present Deputy Editor of Contact books.)*

OF all those who have been adopted since the last Election as prospective parliamentary candidates, there can be few who have not sometimes lulled themselves to sleep with the thought that they would wake up next morning to find that the sitting member had been removed by death or honour to a higher place in the next world or this. It is not an ungenerous dream. Though the candidate knows that suddenly all the searchlight batteries of political propaganda will be swung round to focus on his own obscure corner of Britain, though he knows that it will mean weeks of physical exhaustion and possible ignominy at the end, he longs for it. It is not that a candidacy is wearisome or futile: it is that the long years of waiting are only a prelude to the real business. He feels like the actor who has endless dress-rehearsals but no performance: like the ambitious soldier without his war.

From the distant backwater of a constituency which is represented by another man, the House of Commons appears to the candidate like a fortress whose drawbridge is only let down once in five years. If he has once been a member, the light in Big Ben's tower strikes into his soul with the keenness of a shaft of sunlight penetrating a prison cell: if he has never been a member, it is a familiar but unattainable beacon. He reads Hansard assiduously: he frames his maiden speech on a score of noble issues: he strolls in imagination along the corridors and terraces, linked arm in arm with the great (though the great in fact do no such thing), and returning to his own constituency where his name is at least known to his supporters and he can make a show of dignity, he consoles himself with the thought that all things, even the lives of Parliaments, must some day have an end.

Yet to say this is simply to claim for the candidate a proper degree of ambition for wider arenas, and to state that the first quality which he must possess is the quality of patience. If he is doomed to spend five years in the wilderness, he must treat those five years as years of preparation and opportunity, not of suffering. He must have no self-pity. Let him travel a hundred miles to a meeting, find two boy scouts and a school-mistress as his audience, and still deliver his address as fervently as if he were speaking to five hundred. The news will get around—and not to his discredit. Let him return a week later to a meeting where twelve women, all of them convinced adherents to his cause, have assembled ostensibly to hear their candidate talk about the House of Lords, but with a deeper yearning for buns, whist or chatter. To them too he must show no sign of impatience. He must convince them that they have been less bored than they expected. If they stare at him like comfortable heifers at a cattle-market, he must throw away his weighty notes and weave his political message around homely stories. If they go away and say that he was a good speaker, without remembering a single point he has made, the meeting will have been worth while. What is quite fatal is for a candidate to give the impression that it was good of him to come, and that he wishes he hadn't.

He is expected to give these minor performances. If his audience imagine that they are doing *him* a favour by coming to listen to him, why, so they are. If he thinks otherwise, he should not stand. It is by the gradual accretion of a hundred such meetings that he will gain notoriety and experience. They are small enough, unimportant enough, to give him the chance for experimenting. Let him look on these days as opportunities which will never return once he has become a Member, when his words will begin to assume some importance. The privilege of not having to be too careful, of being able to let his hair down, is for a young man worth all the monster audiences and Press notices of his later years.

He should not, on the other hand, carry this too far. He is a subaltern, not a non-commissioned officer, in his party's army. And while a subaltern is excused a certain gay irresponsibility,

his men will not respect him if he makes rude jokes about the Colonel, or tells them, when they are about to enter the battle, that the plan of campaign would have been much better if only the Commander-in-Chief had listened to his advice. Therefore, his second quality is modesty. It is a most convenient, as well as a necessary, quality. If he starts off on a tidal wave of superior knowledge, or superior social or oratorical talents, he will be found out long before his five years are up: the wave will die away. He has not the advantage of the Member who can come down from London with all the wisdom of the House behind him, and the hint of inside information which to the chosen few he will occasionally reveal. The candidate can get a certain way on the pickings of Lobby gossip, but it will not carry authenticity for long. For the raw material of his speeches he is bound to rely upon the declared policy of his leaders and the publications of his party headquarters which do not have so limited a circulation as he may sometimes wish. How much better, then, to lay his cards face upwards on the table at the very start; to admit that for the moment he is no more than a local spokesman for his party, and that his words, if they contain an element of wisdom, are not *ex cathedra* pronouncements.

This matter of modesty is one which each candidate must sort out for himself, in accordance with the degree of his knowledge and experience, and his own temperament. There was once a candidate who ended his peroration with the words: "Those, ladies and gentlemen, are my principles. And if you don't like them—I'll change them." Such a display of modesty is not recommended. One man will find it easier to make the standard platform speech in which his opponents are roundly cursed for the first twenty minutes, and his own party blatantly boosted for the second twenty. Another will prefer the clinical approach: "These are the arguments on our side: those are the arguments of our opponents: on the whole, I believe that we are right." The danger of this attitude is that it will be totally unexpected and therefore open to suspicion, and he will be told that he has no mind of his own. But in neither case, whether he shouts or whether he persuades, is it necessary for him to



give an impression of omniscience. It is not expected of him. Having descended from the platform, let him, if he will, pin on his constituency smile and circulate among his audience, asking them how they find things are working out in their own businesses or their own homes. There is scarcely a human being who does not enjoy, on such occasions, being asked questions to which they know the answer and the questioner does not. Nor, if the candidate goes about it in the right way, need he find anybody dull. "Only one person in a thousand is a bore", a wise, successful and most modest politician once said, "and he is interesting because he is one person in a thousand". In this way the candidate will gain a great deal of useful information and a reputation for friendliness, helpfulness, the desire to understand—and modesty. It is a good beginning.

The candidate should possess a third quality, which is best described as a combination of charm and ease. Today, charm is looked on with favour when experienced, with disfavour when referred to. Why this should be so is difficult to understand. But the candidate can be certain that if his charm is not as synthetic as peroxide hair and if he is able to put it across personally to a sufficient number of people, it will be one of the most effective of his legitimate weapons. It is said that the candidate is becoming less and less important as the radio gives more opportunity for the party leaders to establish personal contact with the electorate. This is not altogether so. The candidate's personality is of enormous importance, not only as a speaker but as a human being. He relies for nine-tenths of his success upon the men and women who work for him in the wards and lanes. If they do not find him sympathetic (in the French sense of the word), they will not work. He is a magnet which attracts people to him, and a breeze which sends them out on his behalf.

Allied to charm, he must have ease of association. There have been politicians who have been both shy and successful, but each of them has at least appeared to enjoy the company of other people and been able to talk their shop without talking his own. Whether it is a business-men's club, a dance, a women's meeting, a gathering in a pub, the candidate must

be capable of that imperceptible change of tone which will bring him into harmony with those around him without altering his basic personality. He must know what sort of person he is, and what sort of a person he is talking to. He must, in short, have a sense of audience. That perhaps is the most important quality of all.

During his years of apprenticeship as a candidate, the politician is half in politics and half out, and is obliged to lead a double life. He must have a job, not only as security against non-election and a present means of livelihood, but because few constituencies would look with approval on a candidate who did nothing but act as their nurse-maid in anticipation of future favours. Yet he must be prepared to find that he is expected to attend all manner of local functions, and his professional engagements will not always be accepted as sufficient excuse for non-attendance. The candidate is expected to have no three-line Whips in his life. If he does not show himself at least once a week, he will be told that he "cannot hope to become one of us". If he attends all the functions to which he is invited, his presence will begin to pall, he will lose rarity value, and he will become as automatic an appendage as the Lord Mayor.

He must also endure with patience the widespread notion that the candidate is somehow free from the working of normal economic laws. It is the boast of all political parties that their candidates can be drawn from all sections of society, irrespective of income, and that they will be required to make no contribution to Association funds. This is true: but rarely will he be offered his expenses in coming down to address a meeting in his own constituency, and as the law stands at present he does not enjoy the Member's privilege of travelling on free railway vouchers. Thus in the case of a conscientious candidate who lives in London and is nursing a constituency three hours journey away, he may well be £150 out of pocket each year if fares, hotel bills and local subscriptions are all taken into account. He must regard it as an investment in the future.

The strategy of his pre-election campaign he must decide himself: the tactics are largely the business of his agent or

Association Chairman. Strategy may be an affair of five years planning, of timing his periodic spurts to coincide with the national efforts of his party to gain more members or more money. He must ration himself carefully to the number of wolves which he cries. No doubt experience will show him that the most dramatic passage of his speech will be that which begins: "I cannot tell you when the next Election will fall. I have been told, and I have no reason to doubt it, that . . .", but invariably the season which he then goes on to prophesy will pass with the Election cloud still squatting on the horizon and still no bigger than a man's hand.

He must resort to other devices for keeping interest alive. Let him, for a period of months, give up speech-making altogether and concentrate his attacks on the door-knockers of his future constituents. Let it be known, if he likes, that he is contemplating joining an expedition to Borneo, or be widely hinted that he is deeply in love with the daughter of a fishmonger or an Earl. But whatever method he chooses, it is important that his name should be kept before the local public in a manner calculated to arouse not only their interest but their sentiment. He must not become a bore, an endless dispenser of dreams and nightmares; no member of the British public will stand that for five years at a stretch. He must do things, things unconnected as well as connected with politics, things that will make people say that grass won't grow under his feet. And if and when he must make speeches, they should vary from the fulminating street-corner oration to the gentle heart-to-heart of the school-master recounting, with becoming modesty, the facts of life. Thus the candidate's strategy is less a matter of putting his case across (for time is over-much on his side), as of keeping his presence and personality fresh. He must be a bit of a buccaneer, a bit of a visionary, and a bit of a gallant. In short, he must be alive.

On his agent he relies enormously to keep the wheel steady, whatever antics may be performed on the bridge. There is probably no category of human being more susceptible to offence than the long-established officers of small political branches, and one of the agent's prime tasks is to keep them

happy. Much depends on the exact wording of a circular letter, the order of priority in settling the proposers of votes of thanks, the advance knowledge of forthcoming events which must be kept to a tactfully limited circle. All this the agent must do and allow his candidate to come in only at the stage of smiles and iced cakes. The candidate should avoid all local squabbles. Outwardly he should have no favourites or *bêtes noires*. At dances, the prettier girls must come low on his programme. At meetings, the agent must prime him beforehand to remember the names of the Chairman and Secretary, and the circumstances under which they met before. The relation between the two must be as that between bridge players of doubtful honesty, complete with kicks under the table, significant coughs, and apparently innocent remarks concealing the vital hint which may, at the last minute, save the situation.

No doubt many of these principles apply equally to Members of Parliament. But the candidate is skating on thinner ice. He must always remember that until the eve of the Election he is "prospective" and not "adopted". He can, with considerable pain on both sides, be dropped. He has not the five years life insurance of the Member, nor the weight, the *gravitas*, with which a man is endowed by a past success at the polls. While the member can on occasion be cross, engaged, cagey, or even creditably tired, the candidate can afford no such luxuries. By some regarded as the play-boy of politics, by others as a squire in a borrowed and slightly over-large suit of armour, he is for ever making his way against a sea of actual or potential troubles. He will not go without reward, even if faced by a 20,000 majority against him at the start and all but hopeless prospects. He will find new friends, experience, much enjoyment, and the chance to fight. There is nothing in life more disagreeable than trying to attract attention and failing to do so. Of that the candidate, when it comes to Election Day, runs no risk at all.

## THE GREAT SEAL

by R. W. PERCEVAL  
(*A Clerk in the House of Lords*)

THE other morning, before lunch, I spent a quarter of an hour watching the Great Seal of His Majesty King George VI being affixed to a document of State. In a small, dingy room in the depths of the Palace of Westminster there was an electric oven, a screw press connected by a hose to the taps of an ordinary household sink, a few cupboards, and a member of the Lord Chancellor's staff in shirt sleeves. He took from the oven (where it had been heating for a couple of hours) a steel collar about six inches in diameter and four inches deep, which he set in the press. Into it he inserted the reverse or bottom half of the silver Seal, containing a figure of the King on horse-back. On to this he sprinkled some red granulated bakelite, on which he laid a lace of plaited cords, which passed through a hole in the collar and was attached to the document to be sealed. More grains of red bakelite were added, and covered by the top or obverse side of the Seal, which has a figure of the King on his throne. Then the press was screwed down; the hot seals and collar melted the bakelite, which was squeezed out of holes in the side of the collar: the whole thing was left to cool, and when the press was unscrewed, an impression of the Seal came out, attached to the document by an ornate plaited cord, and Lancashire had a new Lord Lieutenant, appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal.

That simple process has a long history, interwoven with the history of England. The Great Seal was the "key of the kingdom" in mediæval times; the country could not be governed without it; it was High Treason to counterfeit it; and for centuries it was a sort of sacred sign or symbol of the Government of the Realm.

Offa, King of Mercia, had a Seal in the second half of the eighth century, and so no doubt did succeeding Saxon kings.

But from Edward the Confessor down to the present King we have an unbroken series of impressions, from charters and documents of all sorts, of the Great Seals of all the kings and queens, and also of such irregular sovereigns as the Parliament and the Protectors during the Commonwealth, and Henry the son of Henry II, who was crowned in his father's lifetime but never reigned as King in his own right.

Nowadays, only forty or fifty documents a year pass under the Great Seal; but in its heyday it used four hundredweight of wax a month, and had a host of strange retainers, from two Gentleman Servants, through hereditary Spigurnels, the Prothonothary, the Chaffwax, the Clerk of the Hamper (in which the accounts and money were kept) to humble Portjoy, who drove the mule with the appurtenances. A succession of embroidered Purses were made to house the Seal: in the bad old days of the eighteenth century so many of these were made—at Government expense of course—that Lady Eldon, wife of the Lord Chancellor, had bed-curtains made of them.

All this pompous and elaborate organization grew out of the simple and practical requirements of the Norman and mediæval governments, who needed some fairly fool-proof method of authenticating their commands and acts. Let us test the truth of this statement by examining the situation in which William the Conqueror found himself after his conquest. The kingdom was full of hate and suppressed rebellion; a journey from London to Durham took anything up to forty days; there were available for government a few royal clerks and a fairly efficient county organization inherited from Edward the Confessor: and for all posts of danger and responsibility there were available a gang of ruthless and competent toughs who had come over with the Conqueror from Normandy. *But hardly any of them could read.* True, there were a few such ecclesiastics as Bishop Odo, the King's brother, and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; but the ordinary run of the King's officers, both civil and military, were illiterate. Yet in spite of this, the Government established by the Normans in England, with such unpromising material, was probably the most efficient and successful in Europe. Most

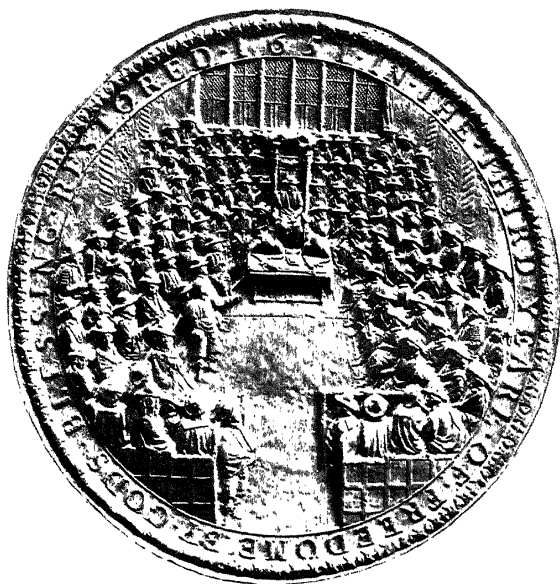
of the credit, of course, is due to the personal characters of the men concerned, but some must go to the methods they employed; and one of their chief tools was the King's Great Seal.

The Seal was, very early in William's reign, confided to his chaplain, who was also his chancellor (that is, the head of his office). All the King's orders went out through this one office, and it was the responsibility of the Chancellor to seal them with the King's seal, which even to the illiterate was a demonstrable and unvarying proof of their authenticity. In time, of course, as the Government became more complex, and the Court moved about through the provinces or over the Channel, it became advisable to settle the Chancery, or general office of the kingdom, permanently in London, and to authenticate by a Privy Seal, which travelled about with the King, orders which the Chancellor, in turn, was to publish under the Great Seal. In later years, as the Privy Seal also passed from the King's immediate control into that of the Privy Council, the chain was lengthened by another link, and the King acquired a new seal, the Signet or Secret Seal, wielded by his Secret Clerk or Secretary. So then the Secretary of State authorized the Lord Privy Seal to authorize the Lord Chancellor to issue an order in His Majesty's name. No wonder such a procedure soon passed out of general use: but it is still preserved—with the omission of the Privy Seal stage, which lapsed in mid-Victorian times—for the issue of such impressive but unimportant documents as Letters Patent conferring peerages. These are authorized by an elaborate and incomprehensible Warrant, in which a covering note—inserted near the bottom—from the Clerk of the Crown informs His Majesty that here is a warrant for the issue of Letters Patent under the Great Seal; the King signs in the top left-hand corner; the Home Secretary signs his little piece, somewhere near the bottom—"By His Majesty's Command, signified by Mr. Secretary Ede": and the whole is then transmitted to the Lord Chancellor, who acknowledges receipt by signing half-way up the left-hand margin, and duly seals the patent. These agreeably fantastic Warrants are then copied into a great parchment Roll, which



The Great Seal being affixed to a document of State.





The Commonwealth Seal, showing the House of Commons  
in 1651.

is preserved in perpetuity at the Public Record Office. It is the only one still to be kept up of that impressive series of State Rolls of which the first dates from 1132—but we wander from the Great Seal.

In theory, until Victorian times, almost every act of the Government was authenticated by the Great Seal. Until they began to be printed in 1484, official copies of Acts of Parliament were made in Chancery and sent out under the Great Seal to all the sheriffs and judges. All writs were issued under the Seal—in theory: but on the 4th February, 1655, over 1500 writs were issued, and of course it was impossible to seal them all properly. In fact, most of them only got a blob of wax the size of a thumbnail, which may or may not have been impressed with a part of the Great Seal; this blob had originally been an impression of half of one side of the Seal, introduced to save wax and labour, and had shrunk to a mere formal drop of wax on the minor documents.

But let us leave the practice of the Seal and consider something of its history. The Middle Ages, although their administrative theories were more logical and exact than ours, were not in practice so careful of their Seals, and accidents constantly befell them. It was probably no one's fault when Richard Coeur-de-Lion's Vice-Chancellor, with the Seal in a bag round his neck, was drowned off Cyprus on a Crusade; let us only hope, for the poor man's sake, that the Seal did not weigh nearly two stone, like its modern counterparts. But the next story has a smack of carelessness about it: in 1322 Edward II writes to all the sheriffs: "Because our Privy Seal, which we have lately been using, has by chance been lost, we charge you to pay no attention to letters bearing it, and to give this matter as much publicity as you think fit." Four days later, however, "We notify you by these presents that our said seal is found again and in our keeping". And ten days later another letter tells all concerned that the whole thing had been a false alarm and that the Seal had been in safe custody all along. Edward III, again, who was probably not personally a methodical man, used the Seals of Queen Philippa, of William Montague who married the Fair Maid of Kent, of Gilbert

Talbot and of various other members of his staff whenever "*nous navioms mie nostre prive seal pres de nous quant cestre lettre fu faite*". Very natural in the bustle of a high-spirited and chivalrous Court; but it must have been exasperating to the sober and businesslike clerks back in Chancery Lane—who incidentally are the ancestors of our Civil Service; they were carefully graded into ranks, were devils for red tape, and worked imperturbably through such crises as the deposition of Richard II and the Wars of the Roses.

You will remember that it was High Treason to counterfeit the Great Seal. But in 1640, when the Civil War broke out, King Charles took the Seal with him to Oxford. The Parliament were in a quandary; they could not govern their half of the country legally without the Seal; to govern illegally hardly became a party which had spent the last twenty years accusing the King of illegal government; to make a new Seal was treason. Their first attempt to escape from this dilemma was delightfully naive: they tried sending some writs down to the King's Lord Keeper Littleton in Oxford to seal, but he very naturally refused, since they were at war with the King, and sent them back with a polite little note. It was three years before the Parliament, by ordinance, dared to "void" the King's Great Seal; and the House of Commons, after a very close division and referring the matter to a Select Committee, at length ventured to order a new Parliamentary Great Seal. And a very fine Seal it is too; it has a good clear map of England, Wales, and Ireland on one side, and on the other side the best picture extant of the Commonwealth House of Commons. In 1646, when the King surrendered, his State effects were sent down to Parliament, and on the 11th August the Commons, with their Speaker, attended at the Bar of the House of Lords. Then, a smith being called in, the King's Great Seal was broken up amid "ministerial cheers", and the bits were divided equally between the Speakers of the two Houses.

But the most celebrated adventure of the Great Seal was in 1688. On the night of the 11th December, James II was in a panic because of the approach of the Prince of Orange.

Disguised, and with one companion, the King stole out from Whitehall, carrying the Great Seal, which he had taken from the Lord Chancellor (who was, incidentally, the notorious Judge Jeffreys). They got into a boat at the Horseferry, and were rowed across the river to Lambeth; in midstream James dropped the Seal overboard. He thought he had neatly tricked his enemies, and wrecked the Government; but the Seal was soon picked up by a fisherman in his net and returned to the Lords of the Council. That is the old story: a new and interesting postscript has recently been added by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office. (See *Antiquaries Journal*, XXIII, p. 1.). William and Mary accepted the crown on 13th February, 1689; their new Great Seal was ready early in March. But when we come to look at this new Seal, we find that on the back an improbable Queen Mary on an even more improbable horse has been sketched in behind the King on King James's old Seal: the lettering has been altered, a new front or obverse added, and the whole called a new Great Seal. But what follows is even more strange. In 1694 Mary died; so she and her mount were scratched off the back of the Seal, and the enthroned figure of James II on the front was taken out of store and used again for King William III. The adventurous Seal of James II, then, after its dip in the Thames, had a Queen first added and then removed from its back, and its front, after a period on the shelf during the joint reign of William and Mary, did duty once more for James's greatest enemy. It is a mystery why this should have been done; the most likely explanation is that everyone in the Government wanted to insure against the return of the Stuarts. If King James had come back, all concerned could have pointed triumphantly to the disguised Seal and exclaimed, "See, Your Majesty: even in adversity we were loyal; we contrived to keep Your Majesty's sacred Seal from destruction even in the midst of the enemy". That, I am afraid, is the kind of people they had in the Government in those days.

In the early hours of the 24th March, 1784, thieves climbed in from the fields at the back of Lord Chancellor Thurlow's house in Great Ormonde Street, and stole the Seal. The Tory

Government were just about to dissolve Parliament at that moment, and everyone suspected that the theft was a Whig plot. It seems, however, to have been only burglars; at all events the Seal was never recovered. Messengers dashed to tell Mr. Pitt at 10 Downing Street, and a new Seal was apparently procured or made within thirty-six hours, for a "Proclamation for dissolving the present Parliament and calling another" seems to have been sealed with the Great Seal on 25th March.

That brings us down to modern times. In Queen Victoria's times, a London wine-merchant used to buy up impressions of the Great Seal and melt them down for wax to seal his bottles with; but that I suppose was in the times when such impressions were plentiful, and when the Law by its cumbersome slowness had fallen into disrespect. For in the middle of the nineteenth century the whole apparatus of mediæval law, Clerks of the Petty Bag, Doctors' Commons, Philazers, Bills of Middlesex, Writs of Replevin and all, was still cluttering up the judicial system with its multitudinous incomprehensibilities. But reform soon swept all that away; many legal writs were abolished, or sealed with a mere wafer and small impression of the Seal.

And so the business of the Great Seal of the Realm has sunk to a mere fraction of what it was; it has no mule or servants any more; its embroidered Purse is still carried about in state in front of the Lord Chancellor, but it is empty now; the Clerk of the Hamper has turned into a Permanent Secretary; and the Great Seal, instead of doing its work before an assembly of gentlemen and notables in Westminster Hall, with the Lord Chancellor seated in state on a marble throne, now works beside a kitchen sink.

But not quite all its glory has departed; it can still create a Duke, ratify a treaty, or dissolve a Parliament. Like so many features of our Constitution, it remains a decorative appendage, not quite idle nor yet very important, but still, in its history, supremely interesting.

## POLITICAL PARTY FUNDS

[*The functioning of Parliament depends upon the existence of parties; the parties must be financed if they are to exist. Should the source and amount of such finance be made public? That is a question which is often asked. Parliamentary Affairs has asked for expressions of view on this matter from Mr. Greenwood (Labour Party), Mr. Pierssené (Conservative Party) and Mr. Fothergill (Liberal Party). We print below the notes they were good enough to send us. It would, of course, be improper for the Hansard Society as such to express any opinion on a matter of this nature.*]

## I—THE LABOUR VIEW

by the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, C.H., M.P.  
(*Treasurer of the Labour Party.*)

THE Labour Party makes no secret of the source of its finances. Every year our audited accounts are published with the Annual Report of the National Executive which is presented to the Conference, and copies are sent to the Press.

We derive our resources from the affiliation fees received from (1) Trade Unions; (2) Constituency Parties; and (3) Socialist Organizations. In addition, however, there are special funds such as (a) the By-election Insurance Fund, to which the affiliated bodies subscribe annually to enable the Party to assist in fighting by-elections; (b) the Bequests Fund, the receipts of which are variable; (c) the Election Deposit Insurance Fund, which is raised during General Elections to cover the loss of candidates' deposits; (d) the Educational Trust, devoted to specific purposes as its name implies; (e) the Development Fund; and (f) the General Election Fund. These last two are referred to again later in this article. Another small source of income is from unsolicited donations not earmarked for any of the foregoing purposes.

The affiliated organizations, national and local, raise their own income from which they pay their dues to the Party

organization in accordance with the Party Constitution and decisions of the Annual Conference.

The individual and affiliated membership of the Labour Party for 1947 was over 5 million. The receipts in the General Fund totalled £130,120 2s. 9d., whilst the expenditure from the General Fund amounted to £130,880 7s. 3d.

Premiums received last year under the By-election Insurance Fund were £7,035 7s. 6d., of which £3,949 1s. 7d. was expended. The Bequest Fund benefited in 1947 to the extent of £360. Donations amounted to £1,338 17s. 9d.

At the Conference of 1947 the Party decided to set up a Development Fund. The regular income of the Party is inadequate to meet the increasing responsibilities of the largest single political party, especially in view of the next General Election and the urgent need for preparations. The Conference, therefore, agreed to a special levy of a shilling per member of the party payable during the two years from June, 1947, to June, 1949. It was estimated that this would yield on the basis of the membership figures for 1946 the sum of £166,321 9s. 0d. During 1947 the contributions amounted to £56,039 11s. 2d. At Whitsuntide, when the 1948 Annual Conference was held, the sum total received in one year from the decision being taken was £98,078 15s. 9d. So that during the first year of the two years allowed for payment, almost two-thirds had been received.

As regards the General Election Fund, it is the custom prior to a General Election to appeal for contributions towards election costs. We have never been able to build such a Fund out of our annual revenue and the amount raised by these appeals during the party's history since 1900 has in total never reached the million pounds which Lord Woolton has received.

The following table shows the sums which have been raised:

1923	..	..	..	£23,565
1924	..	..	..	27,901
1929	..	..	..	49,603
1931	..	..	..	30,348
1935	..	..	..	22,472

Prior to the 1945 General Election an appeal was made.

The total amount raised was £125,521 1s. od. This was composed of donations from affiliated bodies as well as from a very large number of individuals. Fortunately a substantial amount was raised in the constituencies for their election needs and only about half the money in the Fund was disbursed by Party Headquarters. At the end of 1947 there still remained a balance in the Fund of £63,239 1s. 4d., including interest for the year amounting to a little over £2,000.

As regards expenditure, in addition to the general office expenses, amounting last year to £42,820 11s. 6d., contributions are made to the Election Agents' Superannuation Society and to the Labour Party Staff Superannuation Society. Grants for a short period and on a declining scale are made in aid of agents' salaries. The party publishes a number of periodicals as well as pamphlets and leaflets. As I imagine is the case with the other political parties, there is a loss on the sale and distribution of printed matter. During the year 1947 receipts amounted to nearly £24,000 whilst payments totalled nearly £37,000. Printing costs have, of course, risen very considerably since before the War. On 1939 figures paper costs have increased by 210 per cent., printing and wages costs by 80 per cent., and blocks, etc., by about 100 per cent. In any event, however, printed matter, especially at Election times, can hardly be a paying proposition.

I have given a broad picture of the finances of the Labour Party. I believe I am right in saying that no other party issues a public annual report. It would, perhaps, allay suspicions and misunderstanding if political party headquarters generally were to endeavour to make the public aware of their incomes and expenditure.

## II—THE CONSERVATIVE VIEW

by S. H. PIERSENÉ

*(General Director, Conservative and Unionist Central Office.)*

THE idea of publishing the accounts of political parties is superficially attractive. It arises from the instinctive curiosity about other people's affairs which we all share. But what is the object of it? And would publication achieve that object?



It is natural that a political party should want to know what its opponents are doing and how well equipped they are for the forthcoming battle. Tactical warfare is always determined by an intelligent understanding of the enemy's strength; but no commander makes a practice of sending his opponent a copy of his "order of battle".

Is it then desirable in the public interest? I cannot see that the public welfare is going to be advanced in any way by the publication of comparative figures which would be completely misleading. There can be no standard form of comparison owing to the fundamental differences in the composition and functions of the different party organizations and their relations with quasi-political bodies.

In a true comparison it would be necessary to have regard to the activities and resources of such bodies as the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Societies, the Fabian Society, the Free Trade Union and the Primrose League, all of which take an active part in political work, in some cases spending large sums of money in promoting their interests.

On these grounds I consider that the publication of the accounts of the central political organizations—whether theoretically desirable or not—would give no real indication of the alliances which surround the parties and contribute so much to electoral success.

This question has been discussed in the House of Commons in the past and has come to nothing—partly, at any rate, because of the difficulty of defining a political party.

### III—THE LIBERAL VIEW

by PHILIP FOTHERGILL

(*Chairman of Executive, Liberal Party Organization.*)

**M**ONEY is indispensable in politics, but like power, money corrupts. The question of political finance is therefore of importance to constitutional reformers.

I have been asked if the source and amount of party funds should be made public. Most Liberals would answer with an

unqualified "Yes!" Not only have Liberals nothing to lose by publicity, but there is everything to be gained, from the public point of view, in exposing to the full light of day both the source and the destination of political revenue. It would be illogical for a party which has long advocated publicity of commercial accounts to shrink from applying the same salutary test to its own business.

Politics, of course, *is* a business today, and an expensive one at that. In the struggle for political power, the machine has come to matter even more than the party programme. The vast sums which used to be spent in the crudest kind of bribery are now employed in a more scientific way. Politicians are no longer allowed to buy individual votes, not even to the extent, apparently, of giving possible supporters a lift in their motor car! But the use of high pressure influence has not been stopped. It now operates at a higher level, and it operates in both directions.

This, on the face of it, may sound a cynical criticism, but many intelligent observers are genuinely anxious about two aspects of the problem—the high cost of running a modern political machine and the increasing part which sectional interest is playing in party finance.

Although there is a limit to the amount each candidate may spend at an election, there is no limit to the expenditure of party headquarters. Thus, a wealthy organization, by means of its national poster campaign and its publicity and propaganda services, can double the sum each candidate is legally entitled to spend. Moreover, between elections, a vast amount of money can be used in every constituency as well as nationally.

In the interests of democracy the time may soon arrive when, in addition to a strict limitation of a candidate's expenditure, a "global" sum should be fixed for expenditure by party headquarters.

There is, however, a more important consideration. No cause is worth a candle that cannot raise money from its supporters. But today ordinary rank and file support is not enough. The Liberal Party is poor, only because it has no

wealthy pressure group to finance it. An analysis of its 1947 subscription list is significant:

Subscribers above £100	amounted to	.001	per cent.
„ „ £10	„ „	.830	„
„ „ £1	„ „	4.300	„
„ of £1 and below	„ „	94.869	„

(This table does not include thousands of small subscriptions to constituency associations, Area Federations or to the Women's and Young Liberals Organizations.) These figures reveal both the strength and the weakness of any party such as the Liberal Party which, however splendid its ideals, however excellent its policy, relies entirely upon democratic support. Today, in the fierce competition for political power, it would seem that a party must secure the support of a wealthy patron or languish in honest but ineffective poverty. Yet it is important that there should be a party in the State, representative of the unorganized consumer, which neither gives nor accepts bribes from any section of the community in return for special protection or patronage.

It is certainly true in politics that he who pays the piper calls the tune. And it is obviously extremely important to the electorate to know who is calling the tune. Any party's detailed income statement would tell far more of what that party really intends to do than all the manifestoes in the world. No party has yet solved the problem of deriving a really big income from so large a number of small (without strings) contributions that it can be both effective and untrammelled.

The Liberal Party does in fact publish its accounts, though they do not go into detail of contributors and their subscriptions. The Labour Party publishes very full accounts and it is interesting that they inspire comparatively little comment. Yet they make it perfectly clear (a) that the small proportion received from ordinary members is declining and (b) that the party and its policies must be dominated by the Trade Unions.

The Tory Party does not publish any accounts.

There is a further reflection. The modern political machine

backed by pressure finance is a thoroughly cynical political instrument. The elector is not regarded as an educated adult, but as a highly impressionable adolescent. The aim of the political machine is not to raise the standard of public understanding and responsibility, but to cash in on an emotion and to exploit a prejudice.

So we return to the two aspects of the problem—the expense of modern politics and the inevitable scramble for financial support, almost irrespective of its source and the strings attached to it. It is important for the health of democracy that this problem should be tackled. One of the ways in which it can be done is by the compulsory publication in detail of political accounts. Publicity is an antiseptic. Only by means of publicity can the grosser forms of patronage and endowment be stamped out.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### HAMPSTEAD PARLIAMENT

In October the Hampstead Parliament enters its Fifty-first Annual Session. This debating society has been the cradle of a long succession of parliamentary orators, many of whom, such as Lord Oxford and Asquith, Lord Reading, Lord Hewart of Bury and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, have attained the highest eminence.

The essence of liberal democracy is discussion and debate. It is by this means and not by coercive indoctrination that the triumph of ideas through conviction gradually transforms society. Toleration, compatible only with the process of peaceful persuasion, still remains the basis of the Western way of life. Its preservation depends upon the successful exercise of orderly discussion, by the rules of debate developed at Westminster over the centuries and reproduced in every successful democratic society.

It is the inculcation of this, not to speak of the pleasure and profit derived incidentally, and the practice of the dialectical art, that Hampstead Parliament exists to achieve, along with the provision of opportunities to practise "thinking on one's feet", so valuable in all walks of life and essential in all forms of public service.

No forum is so well adapted to these purposes as a model parliament and Hampstead Parliament provides these facilities at its weekly meetings at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays at the Town Hall, Hampstead. The Clerk of the House, Mr. F. D. HUNTER, 19 Squires Lane, Finchley, N.3, will gladly send further particulars, including the allocation of a constituency to intending members, and arrange, if need be, for them to attend the "public gallery" to witness proceedings. A year consists of two sessions, extending from October to the following March, and the cost is £1 1s. od., including postage of Order Papers weekly. Students and persons under eighteen years of age, 10s. 6d.

C. LOCKE WHITE

## THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—I

IN the third issue of *Parliamentary Affairs* reference was made to a document issued by the U.S. House of Representatives which, by the method of question and answer, tells the story of the history and functions of the American Government. This document was compiled by Representative Wright Patman, and we are glad to print extracts from it in *Parliamentary Affairs*. The need for adequate knowledge of the principles and methods of the U.S. system of government has never been greater. The questions and answers which we are publishing in this and future issues of our Journal should help our readers to understand the democratic institutions of the United States.

*Question:* What is the difference between a pure or direct democracy, and a representative or indirect democracy?

*Answer:* A pure democracy is a form of government in which the management of affairs is kept actually in the hands of the people themselves, so that the citizens in the mass make the laws, levy taxes, decide questions of war and peace, determine all other matters of policy, and select and supervise the officials who carry on matters of public business which are of such a nature as to require personal and continuous attention.

In a representative democracy the people govern themselves, but they do so by entrusting the entire administration of the State to their representatives whom they choose for that purpose.

*Question:* What are the essentials of a republican form of government?

*Answer:* A republic may be defined as a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during the pleasure of the people electing them, for a limited period, or during good behaviour.

*Question:* How does the Government of the United States

of America combine both democratic and republican principles of government?

*Answer:* As a pure democracy, defined above, is not practically possible in the case of a nation like the United States, large both geographically and in population, and whose citizens in the mass have not the leisure necessary for continuous direct participation in the public business, the National Government took the form of a representative democracy. It is democratic because the people govern through representatives whom they have chosen or elected; it is republican because the people elect the President, the Executive.

*Question:* What is the purpose of the American Government?

*Answer:* The purpose is expressed in the preamble to the Constitution, which states: "We, the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

*Question:* What is the meaning of "separation of powers"?

*Answer:* The Constitution contains in separate articles provisions for three great departments of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. There is a significant difference in the grants of power to these departments: The first article, treating of legislative power, vests in Congress "all legislative powers herein granted"; the second article vests "the executive power" in the President; and the third article states that "the judicial power of the United States" shall be vested in the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish. The doctrine of separation of powers is that no one of those three branches is to encroach upon another, except in so far as authorized by the Constitution. Essential functions of the legislature are not to be usurped by the Executive nor by the judiciary. In this way a dangerous concentration of power is avoided, and respective powers are assigned to the departments best fitted to exercise them.

*Question:* What is the "supreme law of the land"?

*Answer:* The Constitution; laws of the United States made "in pursuance of" the Constitution, and treaties made under authority of the United States. Judges throughout the country are bound by them, regardless of anything in separate State constitutions or laws.

*Question:* Was a new Constitution the expressed object of the Convention of 1787?

*Answer:* The Philadelphia Convention of May-September, 1787 was the result of a suggestion by the delegates to a trade convention held at Annapolis in 1786. The idea was that representatives of all the States should meet to consider the defects in the existing system of government and to formulate "a plan for supplying such defects as may be discovered". This suggestion did not meet with full approval of George Washington and others until it was approved and made official by the Continental Congress. The Congress in giving its approval did so with the express restriction that the Convention should be "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union".

*Question:* How may the Constitution be amended?

*Answer:* Amendments may be proposed on the initiative of Congress (by two-thirds vote in each House) or by convention (on application of two-thirds of the State legislatures). So far, there has never been a convention called under this authority. Ratification may, at the discretion of Congress, be either by the legislatures or by conventions, in three-fourths of the States. To date, the twenty-first amendment, repealing the prohibition amendment, is the only one to have been ratified by State conventions.

The first ten amendments were practically a part of the original instrument (being ratified in 1791), the eleventh amendment was ratified in 1795, and the twelfth amendment in 1804. Thereafter, no amendment was added to the Con-

stitution for 60 years. After the war between the States three amendments were ratified (1865-70), followed by another long interval before the sixteenth amendment became effective in 1913.

*Question:* What is the Bill of Rights?

*Answer:* The first ten amendments to the Constitution, adopted in 1791, are commonly referred to as the Bill of Rights. As a matter of fact, the first eight really set out the substantive and procedural personal rights associated with that description, while nine and ten are general rules of interpretation of the relation between the State and Federal Governments—all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, being reserved to the States or the people.

*Question:* How long may a proposed amendment remain outstanding and open to ratification?

*Answer:* The Supreme Court has stated that ratification must be within "some reasonable time after the proposal". Beginning with the eighteenth amendment it has been customary for Congress to set a definite period for ratification. In the case of the eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first amendments the period set was seven years; but there has been no determination as to just how long a "reasonable time" might extend.

On the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the three States of Connecticut, Georgia, and Massachusetts, which had never taken action on them, ratified the first ten amendments which had been a part of the Constitution for a century and a half.

*Question:* What is the "lame duck" amendment?

*Answer:* The twentieth amendment, adopted upon ratification by the thirty-sixth State on 23rd January, 1933, and certified in effect on 8th February, 1933.

Prior to this amendment the annual session of Congress began on the first Monday in December (Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 4). As the terms of members commenced on 4th March, this meant that members elected in November of the even-numbered years did not take office for four months, and



normally did not take part in a session of Congress for nine months more; that is, the session which began in December immediately following election included members who had been defeated at the polls or had not stood for re-election; for this reason it was known as the "lame duck" session, and the twentieth amendment which shifted the dates involved is called the "lame duck" amendment. It has not entirely obviated the inconsistency of legislation by a Congress which does not represent the latest choice of the people, as witness the last session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

*Question:* What is the proposed twenty-second amendment?

*Answer:* This is a proposal to repeal the sixteenth amendment and provide, instead, that while Congress shall have power to collect income taxes without apportionment, the maximum rate of tax shall not exceed 25 per cent.

The proposal has been endorsed by the legislatures of 17 States. However, six of these States have rescinded their former action in this regard. Under the Constitution, an application from 32 States would require Congress to submit the proposal to the States for ratification.

*Question:* Why was a constitutional amendment necessary to change the date of the beginning of the terms of President, Vice-President, and Members of Congress?

*Answer:* The Constitution fixes the terms of President and Vice-President at four years, of Senators at six years, and of Representatives at two years. Any change of date would affect the terms of the incumbents. It was, therefore, necessary to amend the Constitution to make the change. This shortened the terms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vice-President John N. Garner and all Senators and Representatives.

*Question:* Was the establishment of the Constitution the act of the States in their separate sovereign capacities, or of the people?

*Answer:* The Constitution emanated from the people. The Convention draft was submitted to conventions in the several States for ratification, and its very first words, "We, the people . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution" were thus effectively carried out.

*Question:* Were political parties contemplated under the Constitution?

*Answer:* The framers of the Constitution tried to avoid having political parties control the election of a President. They provided that each State should choose as many electors as it has Congressmen and Senators by whatever method the legislature might decide. These electors then were to select the President and the Vice-President.

In the first election in 1789 there were no parties because everybody turned to Washington. He favoured Adams for Vice-President, so Adams was chosen. The second election in 1792 brought the same result.

*Question:* What incident led directly to the formation of political parties?

*Answer:* The independent action of two electors in 1796 (when one from Virginia and one from North Carolina voted for Adams instead of Jefferson, who was the choice of the two States at large) brought two lists of party candidates for electors in the next election. Thus that provision of the Constitution, which was intended to prevent political parties, actually caused the formation of political parties. Instead of the electors choosing our Presidents, the electors have been little more than puppets to register the vote of the people of their State.

*Question:* What were the first two major political parties?

*Answer:* The Federalists and the Republicans. The Federalists, under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, were identified with policies calling for nationalistic<sup>1</sup> legislation and a liberal construction of the Constitution; the opposition party, under Thomas Jefferson, was known indiscriminately as Republicans or Democrats, and stood for a strict construction of the Constitution, States' rights, and individual liberty.

The Federalist Party practically disappeared after the War of 1812, and was succeeded by the National Republicans and Whigs. The Whig Party in turn disintegrated after 1852 and the (present) Republican Party took form in 1854, its first

<sup>1</sup> In Britain the word "national" would be used as "nationalistic" has come to have a patriotic, even chauvinistic, connotation.

Presidential candidate being John C. Fremont in 1856. The name "Republican" was formally adopted by a State convention at Jackson, Mich., on 6th July, 1854.

The original Jeffersonian Republican Party gradually came to represent not so much a single cohesive party as a collection of factions. Under Andrew Jackson these groups amalgamated under the name of Democratic Republicans, which was soon shortened to Democratic (the present party designation).

*Question:* What is the electoral college?

*Answer:* The "college" comprises the whole number of Presidential electors—equal, in each State, to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the State is entitled. They are the persons actually voted for on election day, who in turn meet at their State capitals and vote for President. No Member of Congress may be "appointed" (that is, elected) to the electoral college. In a few States, electors are bound by State law to vote for the party choice for President; but in most States their vote for the party choice is simply a matter of course.

*Question:* What is the origin of the word "candidate"?

*Answer:* In the days of ancient Rome when it was a democracy and people voted for their consuls and praetors, those asking for the office appeared in the forum dressed in white to signify their purity. The Latin word for white was "candidatus", hence our present-day "candidate".

*Question:* How are Senators and Representatives elected?

*Answer:* By popular vote on the day fixed by Congress—first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in the even-numbered years (except in Maine). The qualifications of voters at this general election are the same as for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislators—the Constitution merely adopting State provisions on the subject.

*Question:* Why are Congressmen elected in the State of Maine in September instead of November?

*Answer:* The Constitution provides that unless Congress directs otherwise, the time of holding elections for Senators

and Representatives "shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof". During the early days of the Federal Government no law on the subject was passed. In 1845 Congress fixed the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as the day for choosing Presidential electors and that day is still national or general election day. The same day was designated for the election of Representatives, but an exception was made in the case of those States in whose Constitutions a different day was specified. Accordingly, for many years, three States—Arkansas, Oregon, and Maine—elected their congressional Representatives earlier than November. Arkansas and Oregon later changed their Constitutions to conform with the Act of 1845. Maine is the only State in the Union which continues to hold these elections on a different day. Election day in Maine was placed in September during the early days of the Republic when travelling facilities were poor and when bad roads and cold weather frequently would have prevented the rural inhabitants from going to the polls late in the Fall. All the States, including Maine, elect Presidential electors on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

*Question:* Have United States' Senators always been elected by the people?

*Answer:* Senators were originally elected by the State legislators (Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 3). Direct election by the people was provided for by the seventeenth amendment, effective as to Senators elected after 31st May, 1913.

*Question:* Does Congress determine the boundaries of congressional districts?

*Answer:* No. Congress after the decennial census apportions the membership of the House—i.e., determines how many members each State is entitled to elect—but the legislature of each State determines whether it will redistrict the State, and when and how. If a State is entitled to additional representation, and no redistricting is made, the additional Representatives are elected from the State at large.

In the early years of the Republic most States elected all their Representatives at large. In the 1932 election, Virginia,

Kentucky, Missouri and Minnesota (having suffered losses under the 1930 apportionment) elected their members en bloc, which resulted in solid delegations of one party being chosen, except in the case of Minnesota, and in effecting the defeat of many a member who had long been in Congress from a district strongly attached to its party. Some States, rather than redistrict, in the event of being allotted larger memberships, elect the additional member or members at large—New York electing two that way in 1932. Of course, where a loss has occurred, there must be a redistricting or all the members from a State would be elected at large.

*Question:* Do all congressional districts have approximately the same population?

*Answer:* Theoretically they should have, but in practice they vary a good deal. For example, the 1940 census discloses that the Seventh Congressional District of Illinois had a population of 914,063, whereas the Twelfth Congressional District of New York had only 70,307. Some variation is to be expected from the fact that district lines usually follow county, town or rural lines, so that population cannot be divided with exactness. At times the exigencies of politics have resulted in the creation of districts of odd shape (so-called shoe-string districts) to favour the party in power. The practice of "gerrymandering" dates from 1812, when a redistricting act in Massachusetts caused the outline of one district (with a few artistic touches) to resemble a salamander—which some way changed to gerrymander—a play on the name of the then Governor, Elbridge Gerry.

*Question:* What is the population of the average congressional district?

*Answer:* Under the original constitutional apportionment there were 65 Representatives for the 13 States, which then had a total population of around 4,000,000—an average of approximately 60,450. By 1910 the size of the average district had risen to 194,182; in 1930 to 279,712; and under the 1940 census it is approximately 304,000. The membership of the House is 435.

*Question:* How can a new State be created?

*Answer:* A new State can be created (that is, admitted into the Union) only by Congress.

*Question:* What is an Enabling Act?

*Answer:* An Act of Congress providing for the admission of a new State is referred to as an Enabling Act. Under the Constitution (Art. IV, Sec. 3) admission of States is a prerogative of Congress.

*Question:* Would it be possible for Texas to be divided into five States without the consent of Congress?

*Answer:* The erection of a new State within the jurisdiction of an existing State can only be accomplished with the consent of the State legislature as well as of Congress. But, Congress has already given its consent to the creation of not over four additional States out of the territory included in Texas at the time of its annexation.

*Question:* What guaranty does the Constitution carry with respect to the form of State government?

*Answer:* The Constitution guarantees (Art. IV, Sec. 4) to every State a republican form of government. It does not attempt to define what is a republican form of government; the fact that the Constitution did not change any of the State governments in existence at the time, is clear evidence that they were such as were contemplated under this provision of Article IV. The Supreme Court has indicated that the distinguishing feature of a republican form is the right of the people to choose their own officers for governmental administration, and pass their own laws in virtue of the legislative power reposed in representative bodies.

## METHODS OF VOTING

by ENID LAKEMAN, B.Sc.

*(Miss Lakeman is the Research Secretary of the Proportional Representation Society)*

FROM the day when three primitive hunters hesitated between alternative paths and one man accepted the decision of the other two, there must have been voting in some form or other. True, the counting of heads has had to compete with other methods of decision, from the breaking of heads to reliance on chance. The casting of lots—that is, giving the gods the deciding vote—settled important questions in ancient Greece, and chance decides which of us shall serve on a jury. Heredity still selects many an office-bearer. And, where heads are counted, attempts are often made to weight the count in favour of those heads which are considered the more intelligent or the more responsible.

On the whole, however, one person one vote is the idea gaining more and more general acceptance wherever a decision has to be made between different courses of action or different candidates for office. Even where the election is in other ways far from what we should consider democratic, this rule usually holds.

Each elector expresses his choice by the same means as any other elector. It may be by sound—by voices shouting Aye or No in the House of Commons, by applause whose volume determines the most popular among competing variety turns, or, in a primitive tribe, by the clashing of spears. If a more accurate measure of opinion is required—if, for example, M.P.s are not satisfied that “the Ayes have it”—the people on each side are counted instead of being merely estimated by their capacity to make a noise. In our club committee meeting we count hands raised in support of one

proposition or another; in Parliament the tellers count Members as they file through the Aye or the No division lobby.

In the club, we do not usually mind if everyone knows how we vote. The M.P. may sometimes mind, but that is one of the penalties of being a representative—if he gets himself elected by undertaking to support certain things, his constituents have a right to know whether he does vote for those things or not. It is far otherwise with the citizen who is called upon to say whether his employer or his landlord would make a good M.P. or Borough Councillor: if we want an honest vote from him, we must ensure that he cannot be made to vote against his conscience by threats to his livelihood. In circumstances such as these we use a secret ballot—that is, some object which bears no identification takes the place of the voter and is counted in his stead. In many ancient elections this object was a ball (hence the word ballot), and in some it still is. We know that to be blackballed from a club signifies that someone has dropped into the ballot box a black ball to indicate his vote against us, instead of a white ball as a vote in our favour. Where most people can read and write, it is easier to print Yes and No, or the names of the competing candidates, than to manufacture balls of different colours and explain which colour stands for what—the object which takes the place of you or me in an election is a piece of paper.

What should be on this piece of paper, and what should happen to it after your hand or mine drops it into the ballot box?

If your club is voting for or against doubling its subscription, the answer is simple: there can be only two opinions and all we need do is to count the Yes's and Noes and declare successful whichever side has the more papers. The ballot paper may be blank—for the voter to write Yes or No—or it may bear those two words with instructions to indicate which is desired by putting a X against it or by striking out the other.

But deciding between two alternatives is not necessarily simple. Suppose your town has a Sunday cinemas poll, the result might be something like this:



	<i>For Sunday opening.</i>	<i>Against.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
East Ward ..	5,000	1,000	6,000—majority <i>for</i> .
West Ward ..	2,500	3,500	6,000—majority <i>against</i> .
Central Ward ..	2,900	3,100	6,000—majority <i>against</i> .
Whole town ..	10,400	7,600	18,000—majority <i>for</i> .

If we take the opinion of each ward separately, we get a two-to-one majority *against* Sunday cinemas; if we count the whole town together we get a four-to-three majority *for*.

It may be said that it is plainly foolish to count each ward separately and that no one would propose to do so. But in a General Election for Parliament we do count each constituency separately, and a general election is often regarded as a referendum for or against the existing government. The recent general election in South Africa was a contest of this kind—a choice for the people between government by Smuts or by Malan, not complicated by any third possibility. The result was:

*For Smuts. For Malan.*

Constituencies		
(including 12 uncontested)	71	79—majority for <i>Malan</i> .
Votes of whole Union ..	547,437	442,338—majority for <i>Smuts</i> .

(The 76,279 votes cast for small parties and Independents do not affect the argument.)

If a third or fourth possibility is placed before the voters, the position may be still worse, for we may then not even know what is desired by the majority in any one constituency. In Caernarvon Boroughs in the 1945 General Election the voting was:

Lt.-Col. D. Price White (Cons.)	..	11,432
D. S. Davies (Liberal) .. ..	..	11,096
W. E. Jones (Labour) .. ..	..	10,625
J. E. Daniel (Welsh Nat.) .. ..	..	1,560

The Conservative candidate, with 11,432 votes, won the seat from the former Liberal Member, but we do not know whether he is acceptable to the majority or not. For all that the voting figures show, he may be detested by every one of the 23,281 people who voted for his three opponents. We could find out whether that is true or not by *asking* those

people; we could reduce that election to a simple contest between two people by first dismissing Daniel as a hopeless case and asking his supporters to choose between the other three, and afterwards repeating this process with whichever candidate was then lowest on the poll. In a meeting with a show of hands, this is simply and quickly done, but when thousands of voters are involved in a paper ballot it is neither quick nor simple.

On the 3rd June, 1948, the people of Newfoundland voted

for return to responsible government ..	67,670
for confederation with Canada ..	61,630
for Commission of Government for a	
further five years .. .. .	21,661

Nobody can tell from this whether most Newfoundlanders prefer responsible government or union with Canada; the only certainty is that they do not want the Commission to continue. So, seven weeks after the first vote they have to choose again between the two most popular alternatives. New ballot papers must be printed and must be conveyed—often by primitive means—to distant settlements; voters must for the second time make their way to the polling stations, perhaps through miles of forest.

This is the *second ballot*. It was used in France from 1928 until the war and is still favoured by some of our trade unions. Others, however, have realized that the same result can be obtained in a single ballot by asking the voter to indicate, on his original and only ballot paper, how he would vote if his first choice were defeated and he had to choose again among the remaining possibilities. This he does by numbering the candidates in the order of his preference. Thus, if a Newfoundlander had voted

- 2—responsible government
- 3—confederation with Canada
- 1—Commission of Government

his vote would, in the second operation, be counted for responsible government. This is the *alternative vote*. Like the second ballot, it ensures that in any given constituency the

majority shall have their way; it brings us back to the position in which there are only two competing candidates. But, as we have seen in the real South African election and the imaginary Sunday cinemas poll, the application of this method to a number of constituencies will not ensure the victory of the majority over the whole area. Still less can it be expected, in the election of representatives, to give the minority a proportionate share of these. In theory, one party might secure the whole of the representation for a majority of one in each constituency, and something not far removed from this happened in Alberta in 1935, when the alternative vote gave this result:

Social Credit Party ..	125,960 votes,	50 seats
All other parties ..	97,262 votes,	1 seat

If we want to ensure (a) that the majority shall win, and (b) that in the election of representatives minorities shall get their fair share, something more is needed. The nature of this something more is indicated by the result of another part of the same Alberta election carried out under a different system:

<i>Edmonton, 1935</i>				<i>Votes</i>		<i>seats</i>
Liberal .. ..	..	..	..	14,033	..	3
Social Credit ..	..	..	..	13,661	..	2
Conservative ..	..	..	..	4,820	..	1
United Farmers ..	..	..	..	2,092	..	0
Labour .. ..	..	..	..	1,373	..	0
Others .. ..	..	..	..	1,289	..	0

The first thing to notice is that the whole town voted as one unit to elect its six representatives. That makes possible the representation of both majority and minority, for while one person can represent only one set of opinions six people can represent anything up to six sets of opinions. And while, in electing one person at a time, the best we can do is to ensure that he satisfies just over half the voters, in electing six we can make sure that, between them, they satisfy at least six-sevenths of the voters. Electoral systems which do this are *proportional representation*.

There are two forms of proportional representation—plus certain modifications of one of these. The first form—which finds no favour in the English-speaking countries but is usual in Europe—consists in voting for a *party list*. Each party is allotted seats in proportion to the votes cast for it—either in a large constituency such as a Department of France or perhaps over the whole country—and those seats are filled by the candidates in the order in which they stand on the list drawn up by their party. The lack of any opportunity for the voter to discriminate between personalities, or between shades of opinion within a party, is widely resented. (The equal lack of any such opportunity in British elections is less resented because they have a deceptive appearance of being a choice between persons.) Most countries, therefore, have modified the list system by superimposing on it a greater or less degree of choice for the voter between candidates, sometimes (as in Switzerland) even allowing the voter to support candidates of more than one party (panachage). A candidate having sufficient personal votes is elected before the one at the head of his party's list, but the personal vote still counts towards the party's total and may therefore help to elect some other candidate of that party—perhaps a candidate of whom that voter strongly disapproves. Moreover, modifications which give a really substantial influence to the personal preferences of the voter become extraordinarily complicated.

The other form of proportional representation is that which is always meant when the term "P.R." is used in the English-speaking countries; it is *proportional representation by the single transferable vote*. This is based on quite a different principle. Instead of assuming the existence of political parties, and treating these as the units for which fair representation is required, the single transferable vote seeks to give the fullest possible effect to the will of each individual voter, whether the voters choose to group themselves into parties or not. The reflection in the elected body of the parties or other groups existing in the electorate is a consequence of making the great majority of votes effective. This

is the system already referred to as being used in Edmonton (and in some other Canadian and American cities); it is applied to Parliamentary elections in Eire, Malta, Tasmania and four British University constituencies, and to elections in many unofficial bodies such as the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society and the National Union of Teachers. It has now replaced the alternative vote for the election of the Australian Senate.

The operation of "P.R." is best explained by an actual example, for which we may take the four-member constituency of County Clare in Eire's 1948 election. As in the alternative vote, the voter marks the candidates in the order of his preference 1, 2, 3 and so on as far as he desires. Sorting the papers according to the candidate marked "1" gave:

de Valera (Fianna Fail) .. ..	12,574
Hogan (Labour) .. ..	4,586
Burke, T. (Ind. Farmer) .. ..	4,576
Shanahan (Fianna Fail) .. ..	3,235
O'Grady (Fianna Fail) .. ..	3,020
Burke, C. (Fine Gael) .. ..	2,854
Brady (Fianna Fail) .. ..	2,697
Burke, T. (Farmers) .. ..	2,042
O'Loughlin (Clann na Poblachta) ..	1,732
Lillis (Clann na Poblachta) .. ..	1,612
Brennan (Fine Gael) .. ..	1,183
Smythe (Clann na Poblachta) .. ..	851
Monaghan (Fine Gael) .. ..	552

De Valera must obviously be elected, but he does not need 12,574 votes merely to get into the first four. (He needs only 8,303, that being the smallest number of votes that can be obtained by each of four candidates but not by five.) Some of his supporters are voting for a man who would have been elected without their help—they are wasting their time unless they can be allowed to transfer their support to some other candidate who can profit by it. This is done in the second count:

# METHODS OF VOTING

	<i>First count</i>		<i>Second count</i>	
de Valera (F. F.) ..	12,574	—	4,271	8,303
Hogan (Lab.) ..	4,586	+	337	4,923
Burke, T. (Ind. F.)	4,576	+	192	4,768
Shanahan (F. F.) ..	3,235	+	704	3,939
O'Grady (F. F.) ..	3,020	+	2,082	5,102
Burke, C. (F. G.) ..	2,854	+	34	2,888
Brady (F. F.) ..	2,697	+	691	3,388
Burke, T. (Farm.)..	2,042	+	69	2,111
O'Loughlin (C. na P.)	1,732	+	62	1,794
Lillis (C. na P.) ..	1,612	+	37	1,649
Brennan (F. G.) ..	1,183	+	21	1,204
Smythe (C. na P.)..	851	+	12	863
Monaghan (F. G.)	552	+	30	582

It will be noticed that most, though not all, of de Valera's supporters transfer their votes to another candidate of the same party. We now see that 582 people are wasting their time by supporting Monaghan who has no chance of success; their votes also are transferred to the candidate of their next choice—most of them to another Fine Gael candidate.

By a repetition of these processes, the votes are finally concentrated on the four most popular candidates, who turn out to be de Valera and O'Grady (F. F.), Burke (Ind. F.) and Hogan (Labour). Fine Gael, Clann na Poblachta and Farmers got no separate representation but did contribute to the election of Burke and Hogan instead of a third Fianna Fail candidate. Fianna Fail lost one seat to Labour but retained its leader.

## SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

I. *Majority systems.* The largest party gets all the representation in each constituency. It does not necessarily win over the whole country, but usually does win with an exaggerated majority.

(a) *voting with a X* (or with several X's for several members—*block vote*). Where there are more than two contestants, the winner may have fewer votes than his opponents combined.

(b) *the alternative vote*—voting 1, 2, 3 . . . In each constitu-

ency the winner must have a majority of the votes cast, however many contestants there may be. Anything up to half the votes cast may fail to affect the result.

II. *Mixed systems.* Systems of very restricted application which have not been discussed in this article include the *limited vote*, the *cumulative vote*, and a hybrid system used in the British Zone of Germany. They prevent a majority sweeping the board but give no proportionality between votes and seats.

III. *Proportional Representation.* Both majority and substantial minorities are represented in approximate proportion to their voting strength. Constituencies returning three or more members are essential.

(a) *Party list systems.* These represent accurately political parties but no other divisions of opinion. They are usually modified to allow some choice between persons.

(b) *The single transferable vote*—voting 1, 2, 3 . . . This gives the voter a completely free choice between persons. Proportional representation both of parties and of other divisions of opinion is a consequence of the great majority of votes being utilized.

## THE WORK OF THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

by an M.P.'s Secretary

SINCE the 1945 General Election the number of Members of Parliament who employ a secretary has increased enormously. There are several reasons to account for this. The Government has arranged a very heavy parliamentary programme to enable them to get through all the legislation they have planned before the next General Election. This means, of course, longer sittings and a greater number of Committees for all Members, many of whom have other commitments as well as their parliamentary work. On top of all this the general public has become increasingly politically conscious, and more people are writing to their M.P.s to ask for help or advice, or to give him their views on a particular subject. So the Member employs a secretary to take some of the work off his shoulders.

The main work of the day for any secretary comes in the post, which is made up of a variety of ingredients, the most important being the letters from constituents. These cover a wide range of subjects, but the largest group consists of letters from people asking their M.P. to take up their case for them with a Government department, either because they have failed to get any satisfaction themselves or because they think a word from their M.P. is more likely to get them what they want than their own unaided efforts. Most of these cases are sent on to the appropriate Minister, who makes a thorough investigation of the matter and then sends a full reply to the Member telling him what has been done or giving him the reasons why he has been unable to take action. This the Member sends on to his constituent with a covering note.

All this is more or less routine work, which is generally carried on automatically by a secretary for her M.P. There



are numerous questions about pensions, many queries from the Forces and ex-servicemen, employment problems, industrial matters, housing difficulties, complaints about food distribution, shortage of material, and so forth. In these days of complex rules and regulations it takes some time to get to know which Ministries deal with which problems. For instance, Government surplus equipment in general is dealt with by the Ministry of Supply, but surplus housing components, such as baths, are handled by the Ministry of Works. There seems no reason at first sight why the question of overhanging trees causing a danger to road transport should be referred to the Ministry of Health rather than the Ministry of Transport, until one learns that it is covered by the provisions of the Public Health Act. And when something crops up involving more than one Ministry—permission to employ someone from abroad, for example, may mean that the Foreign Office, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour have all to be called in—it often gets a little difficult to keep close track of the progress of negotiations.

The mail usually brings its quota of the out-of-the-ordinary cases—the woman whose husband has deserted her and who is told that there is no way of forcing him to pay her maintenance allowance ordered by the Court as he has moved from England and is now resident in Scotland; the man who has spent all his life inventing gadgets but can get no recognition; the man who has just come out of prison and needs more than the usual assistance in getting his affairs straightened out in order to make a fresh start in life; the British-born wife of a German living in China, who wants her husband to be allowed to come to England and not be repatriated to Germany. . . . It often takes many weeks of correspondence and interviews to help solve problems such as these.

Next comes what one might call the “influence” letter from a constituent—the letter which endeavours to convert the M.P. to the writer’s opinion, or asks him to change the Government’s policy in any one—or may be all!—of its aspects. Most of these have to be answered individually by the Member unless they deal with some subject which comes up again and again,

such as the petrol restrictions or the abolition of the death penalty.

There are, of course, frequent and numerous requests from organizations in the constituency to attend functions, speak at meetings or give away prizes. And it is not only his constituency which has a claim on a Member's time—although it is always recognized it has first claim—but his national party organization as well. Rallies and recruiting drives up and down the country, by-elections—all call for his support. They have to be fitted in with parliamentary business and many other commitments, which means the secretary must keep a wary eye on her employer's diary . . . and often try and prevent his filling his day with more than twenty-four hours' work.

In addition to all this, most Members have certain subjects in which they are especially interested and with which the public associate their names; or they write for the daily or weekly papers, all of which brings its quota of correspondence, meetings and appointments. These letters go first through the secretary's hands for sorting and putting in order, as does the mass of booklets, pamphlets, papers and circular letters which every Member receives.

Often the only time an M.P. has to deal with the work his secretary has waiting for him is in a half-hour snatched from a debate, or perhaps during a week-end down in his constituency. When the House is sitting it is frequently a complicated business just to get some letters signed. Secretaries have only the same facilities for getting in touch with their Members as those available to the general public. That means sending in a Green Card, from the Central Lobby, which a messenger first takes into the Chamber. If the Member is not there it goes the round of the building, which takes three-quarters of an hour. Then how many times does it happen that just as the search is ended and the file is opened on one of the corridor benches, the Division Bell rings and the secretary is left waiting once more!

Then there are questions to be put down and speeches to be prepared, which may mean some research by the secretary as well as her M.P. It is not always a simple matter for her, as

secretaries may not use the Library except during Recess, so enquiries have to be made by telephone or books brought out by one of the staff and consulted in the Library corridor.

The secretary's job is not restricted to Westminster. She has to keep in touch with people and affairs in the constituency; to be informed about the local party and public figures and their activities; to watch the local papers and have some idea of the local issues of the day. As well as this she must be prepared to meet constituents who turn up unexpectedly, when the Member is not available, and be ready to lend a sympathetic ear to their complaint.

An M.P.'s secretary can be responsible for every kind of job, from getting railway tickets from the office in the Central Lobby to working out her Member's Income Tax; from booking a table for dinner in the Strangers' Dining Room to fixing an appointment with a Minister. Her hours of work, often erratic, can be long and arduous, but so are her employer's. Working in the House of Commons, she may be lucky enough to have a desk in an office with only three or four others, where her Member can come to discuss the work to be done and dictate his letters; or she may be crowded in a large room with another fifteen or so secretaries and have to take down her shorthand on a bench in the Central Lobby or outside the Debating Chamber. The House of Commons, it may be added, was not built to house such necessary people as Members' secretaries, and from all accounts the new building will not be any better. She will almost certainly be expected to have a phenomenal memory and be able to remember the complicated details of a case or lay her hands on a wanted paper at a moment's notice. And she must be genuinely interested in politics and concerned about what goes on in the House.

There is a very genuine and friendly relationship between the M.P. and his secretary. The Member is always ready to discuss with her the best method of dealing with a case and to listen to her point of view. The work itself can be full of interest; and being a part of the House of Commons, known to the staff and recognized by the policemen, does give one—

whether rightly or wrongly—the feeling of being in at the centre of things, being present at and a small part of a place where momentous decisions are made.

This article would not be complete without a word about the staff of the House, for without their friendly help some of the secretary's work would be much more difficult. When she first arrives in the House the M.P.'s secretary is given a pass which admits her to the Private Secretaries' Room, and that is all. She has no idea where else she is allowed to go, and very often her employer himself doesn't know exactly what she may or may not do within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster. But the police and the officials of the House are always ready with a word of advice or information, and the secretary soon learns that she may only go through the Members' Lobby up to 2 p.m., which means making a *détour* by a back corridor after that time. It is not long before she gets to know that when a path for the Speaker is cried through the lobbies and corridors she must stand at one side until he has gone by, or that some of the staircases are for the use of Members only. In a hundred and one instances of this kind, where the custom and tradition of the House are concerned, the staff are enormously helpful.

The Secretary naturally identifies herself with her M.P., and when an introduction is made the Member's name as well as her own is nearly always mentioned! She shares his elation and anxiety when a subject in which he is particularly interested is being debated and when he himself has to make an important speech. She can be present in the House at any time, whenever her employer wants, and has the chance of meeting many interesting people in the political world in the lobbies or over a cup of coffee in the cafeteria.

Nevertheless, the M.P.'s private secretary probably vows at least once a week—maybe twice towards the end of a Session, when life becomes more than usually rushed!—that she will change her job the next day. But day follows day, and the Sessions pass, and she is still there—ready to stand on guard to protect her M.P. from the minor worries and irritations of modern parliamentary life.

## UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT—III

by THOMAS LLOYD HUMBERSTONE

*[This is the last of three instalments forming an abridgment of a book which the Hansard Society hopes to publish when circumstances permit. Any views expressed in this article, as in all signed articles in Parliamentary Affairs, are those of the author.]*

THE preceding instalment concluded on a note of “apparent triumph” owing to the recommendation of the Speaker’s Conference of 1944 in favour of the retention of University representation.

On 2nd February, 1944, the House of Commons, after a two day debate, agreed to a Resolution welcoming “The proposal of His Majesty’s Government to set up a Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats, and to invite Mr. Speaker to preside”. The Conference was composed of 32 Members of Parliament appointed by the Speaker in proportion to party strength. Two University Members were included: Dr. Pickthorn (Cambridge) and T. E. Harvey (Combined Universities). Their first report, based on discussions at fourteen meetings, is a document of great constitutional interest. The recommendations favouring the retention of University representation were unanimous.

When, in January, 1948, the Representation of the People Bill was published, proposing to abolish the University constituencies, the question whether the findings of the Speaker’s Conference were binding on the Ministers concerned, including the Labour Ministers of the Coalition Government in office in 1944, was discussed with some heat. The Opposition view is that constitutional changes should be settled, if possible, by agreement between the parties; the Government, on the other hand, maintains that the agreement of the

Speaker's Conference was binding only on the Government of 1944, not on succeeding Governments.

Clause I of the Bill abolishes University representation by implication, a procedure open to criticism in the case of a franchise created by Letters Patent under seal, repeatedly endorsed by Parliament, and sanctioned by three and a half centuries of service to the nation:

"1. Subject to any Order in Council hereafter made under the House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act, 1944, there shall for the purpose of parliamentary elections be the county and borough constituencies, each returning a single member, which are described in the First Schedule to this Act, and no other constituencies."

This proposal was welcomed in the Labour Party, but elsewhere its reception was unfavourable. *The Times*, in its leading article (31st January, 1948), traversed the argument that the University vote offended against the principle of equality:

"The University constituencies have returned to Parliament men of high qualifications who have lifted the level of debate. There has been an increasing tendency to prefer candidates unconnected with any party machine."

In a letter to *The Times* (10th February), the Master of Trinity (G. M. Trevelyan, O.M.) said it seemed a pity that for the purpose of abolishing the anomaly of the plural or alternative vote, a valuable institution like University representation should be abolished. A Labour peer, Lord Lindsay of Birker, Master of Balliol, suggested (13th February) that with plural voting abolished graduates should be allowed to "use their single vote for a University member. . . ." Dr. Albert Mansbridge (*Sunday Times*, 15th February) accepted "one man (or woman) one vote" as a sound democratic principle. But, he added, the problem of representative Government could not be dealt with as simply as that—"for votes have not the same value".

In moving the Second Reading (16th February), the Home Secretary (Chuter Ede) declared himself a consistent opponent of University representation. He gave instances of

the rejection of burgesses by their own Universities, including Newton at Cambridge. If the Home Secretary had carried his researches further in the case of Newton, he would have found that in 1689 Newton had no wish to stand for a third time—"other gentlemen may expect their turn".

In the debate, Professor Savory (Queen's, Belfast) said that of the twelve University members at least six were Independent, with no party ties whatsoever. "The University member is not a partisan." Sir Arthur Salter (Oxford University) emphasized the "breach of a bargain" in relation to the Speaker's Conference, asking "Can there ever be a Speaker's Conference again?" Dr. Dalton thought Sir Arthur Salter was making heavy weather in regarding the abolition as "a blow to learning, a blow at education, and a blow at the professional classes". He declared himself "no great admirer of the Independent in politics".

On the following day (17th February) Arthur Woodburn, Secretary of State for Scotland, said that since the General Election, the University elections had reverted to pre-war form—they had become pocket boroughs where Conservatives who could not get seats at the General Election could be seated at their convenience. "Merely because a person gets scholastic training does not increase that person's intelligence." Wilson Harris (Cambridge University) thought there was a rather slavish adherence to the formula "one man one vote". "The association of the Universities with the Government and with this House, has, throughout history, been close and beneficial to both."

The Second Reading was carried by 318 to 6, the minority including two burgesses, Sir Arthur Salter and Wilson Harris, both Independent members. The Conservative party took no part in the division.

At the Committee stage (16th March), Peake, in moving the Conservative amendment to Clause I, denounced "the act of petty party strife and perfidy to which former colleagues in the war-time Coalition are now prepared to put their hands". Dr. Pickthorn (Cambridge University) craved the privilege of the man in the dock, but felt that in this instance the High

Court of Parliament had made the dock of the accused and the scaffold of the victim "one and the same thing". He referred to the disfranchisement of overseas graduates, assuring the House that of the questions brought to his notice by his constituents, many referred to the interests of the local population rather than to personal or professional interests. To safeguard academic freedom, a channel of communication between the Universities and Whitehall and Westminster was "now more than ever important".

Herbert Morrison, Leader of the House, said he would be willing to submit the alleged breach of faith to any impartial body. Sir John Graham Kerr (Scottish Universities) thought the arguments for University representation had been well presented, but "I do not happen to have heard any particular arguments against it". Skeffington-Lodge, the only Labour member who spoke in favour of University representation, said there were more flagrant anomalies. So far from University representation being a departure of principle, it was based "on the broad application of those very principles which have made this House unique throughout the world". Kenneth Lindsay (Combined English Universities) objected to having the thing sprung upon the House. The amendment was defeated by 328 to 198.

On the following day (17th March), during the debate on the proposal to abolish the special representation of the City of London, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe said that the dishonouring of the agreement of 1944 made it necessary to state that the Conservative Party would restore the University seats.

On consideration of the Bill as amended (14th June), Peake moved a new clause to provide for continuing the registers in University constituencies. Lieut.-Colonel Elliot (Scottish Universities) said there was general agreement for giving the postal vote to soldiers:

"I see no reason why, in modern conditions, the postal vote should not be given to those who happen to have left the country on some of the great Imperial tasks upon which this country is engaged."

A witty speech from Professor Savory (Queens, Belfast)



followed. Convinced that many Labour members were not opposed to University representation, he appealed for a free vote. His last words were based on those used by the Roman gladiators—*Imperator Chuter Ede, morituri, te salutamus*. Sir Arthur Salter (Oxford University), referring to the floating vote and to the political consequences of the abolition of the University vote, addressed his last words to the Treasury Bench before him—*Moriturus morituros saluto*. Crossman suggested that it was an insult to suggest that the professional classes needed special representation. The new Clause was rejected by 216 to 91.

On the third reading (23rd June) Winston Churchill, moving a reasoned amendment, gave a pledge to restore University representation:

“... should we gain a majority we shall immediately introduce a Bill to restore University representation. We say that it was agreed upon by all parties at the Speaker's Conference. The 12 University seats, should our Bill become law, will be re-established and the elections for them held at once with results which will become effective in the next Parliament.”

After the rejection of Winston Churchill's amendment by 338 to 193 votes, the Bill was read a third time.

The second reading of the Bill was moved in the Lords (5th July) by Lord Addison, doctor of medicine of London University, who said he was not particularly impressed by the privileges of the University vote, his view being jaundiced possibly by his failure to vote for a successful candidate. Lord Salisbury announced at an early stage that the Conservative Party in the House did not intend to reject or even amend the Bill. In the debate reference was made to the Speaker's Conference and to the Lord Chancellor's declaration (21st October, 1947) that the Bill would precisely follow the recommendations of the Conference and of the committees on electoral registration and reform. The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Jowitt, admitted that his use of the word “precisely” was unfortunate. The date is, however, significant of the

sudden and unexpected decision of the Cabinet to abolish University representation.<sup>1</sup>

A few special problems connected with University representation may be considered. The right to vote of scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, who were under full age was at one time questioned. In 1791, a pamphlet was published entitled *A proof that minors have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Trinity College, Dublin*. At the civic election in 1713, their right to vote on this ground was challenged, the arguments as given in Matthew French's note, published in a pamphlet, *Some Fragments of College History* (ed. Ernest H. Alton, 1941, p. 31), being:

"Mr. Burgh:—that many instances of Scholars voting in general may be given as in England in both Universities; that the scholars having had a liberal education have capacities of judging of matters; men are at age of discretion at 14 years; they may marry at this age, choose Guardians in soccage (wch is a greater trust than to send a Member to Parliament); they may endow, *ad ostia Ecclesiarum*; & there is no express law in this case.

"Mr. Rivett:—denies the instance of the Universities in England; saies that tho the Scholars had liberty of voting by Charter, as in other cases (wch yet does not appear), yet their voting would be unlawfull, because the law was otherwise & a man must be one & twenty; that the accepting of the votes of the Scholars was no argument in the Case, unless it appears the matter was judicially determined; at the age of 14 a man is at the age of discretion to answer for his crimes; Marriage at 14 is allowed because of propagation, but not to be extended to conveying a mans own right or that of another; that Estates determinable at will are not tenements or freehold, there must be a deed, lease or release."

The Irish House of Parliament decided that residents of College should not be allowed to vote as such in the civic constituency; but scholars who were minors continued to vote in the University elections, both for the Dublin and, after the Union, the Westminster Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> The Representation of the People Act, 1948, received the Royal Assent on 30 July, 1948.

Whether women graduates were entitled to vote in Scottish University elections was the subject of an appeal to the House of Lords from the Court of Session of Scotland in 1908. The women graduates, who argued their own case, contended that being "persons whose names were on the register of the general council of their University" they acquired the qualification conferred on such persons by the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868. It was decided that "persons" could not be held to include women unless by express words signifying that they were intended to be included and that the words were limited in the section quoted to "persons not subject to any legal incapacity".

A similar question arose in 1882 at Cambridge, the right to vote of a peer, Lord Rayleigh, whose name was on the register, being questioned. It was ruled that the name should not have been included in the register; that the vote was a nullity and could be disallowed on scrutiny. There was risk of heavy penalties, a fine of £500 for the peer and imprisonment in the Clock Tower during the pleasure of the House for the proxy.

Open voting has been the practice in Universities since the original Parliamentary elections. The ballot was introduced in local elections, with Gladstone's reluctant assent, by the Act of 1872, to prevent bribery and intimidation. Owing to large constituencies, personal bribery is no longer a practical proposition; the cure—or prophylactic—has survived the disease. University elections were excluded by the Ballot Act as there had not been much evidence of electoral corruption. At Cambridge in 1826 Professor Henslow, the well-known botanist, and the Master of Corpus (Rev. John Lamb) published a pamphlet entitled *Remarks upon the payment of out-voters at a University election: in a letter to the Vice Chancellor*, attacking the system under which the expenses of non-resident voters were paid by the candidates for whom they voted. This abuse was discontinued. Henslow also attacked the abuses of local elections. Traces of an inscription on the *façade* of Corpus, "Henslow Common Informer", may still be seen. Any electoral dragon in the Universities will soon find its St. George!

Originally at Oxford and Cambridge the election of burgesses was part of the proceedings of Convocation or Senate. Copies of the polls were published, for instance:

“An Authentic Copy of the Poll for a member to serve in the Present Parliament for the University of Oxford in the room of The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, D.C.L. of Ch. Ch., resigned, taken on Thursday the 26th, Friday the 27th and Saturday the 28th of February MDCCCXXIX—By authority of the Vice Chancellor.”

This was the famous election of 1829 following Peel's changed opinions on Catholic Emancipation, a controversial question in the University. The result was: Sir Robert Peel, 609; Sir Robert Inglis, 755.

The Committee on Electoral Law Reform presided over by Sir Cecil Carr reported in November, 1947, in favour of the ballot in University elections, and recommended that the procedure for postal voting by absent voters at other parliamentary elections should be the only method of voting.

From one defect of local representation, University representation should be free—the “carpet-bagger”. If on approach of an election, a “carpet-bagger” appeared in the High at Oxford, or King's Parade at Cambridge, consternation would be caused; with reason, for his appearance would be a violation of the express provision of the Letters Patent. London and other Universities have been more indulgent. Robert Lowe, London's first representative, *alumnus* of Oxford, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Gladstone's Government of 1868, had few of the characteristics of the London graduate. That master of gibes, Disraeli, said he gave a seat to London University to provide for Robert Lowe who could not face the hustings but could be trusted to wreck any Ministry in which he was included. Another famous “carpet-bagger”, Ramsay MacDonald, twice Prime Minister and founder of the National Government of 1931, was elected by the Scottish Universities in 1936 after rejection by his local constituency. He shares with Pitt, Peel, Palmerston and Gladstone the honour of having been both Prime Minister and University member.

The University seats have always been available for poor men unable to make the large payments necessary in local elections. Queen Anne's Act of 1710, "an act for securing the freedom of parliaments, by further qualifying the members to sit in the House of Commons", prescribed that every Knight of the Shire should have landed estate of the annual value of £600 and every Citizen, Burgess, or Baron of the Cinque Ports, £300. This provision did not extend "to either of the Universities of that part of Great Britain called England". These Universities were to continue to elect and return members to represent them in Parliament.

University representation has been denounced as an "anomaly". To the Model Parliament of 1295, each shire sent two knights of the shire—large and small shires equally—a principle adopted in the constitution of the Senate of the United States—and each borough two burgesses. Historically, the single member constituency is an anomaly, one of many in the British constitution. When the party system became firmly established, objection was taken to the return of two members of the same political colour, if the voting showed that one member of each party would give fairer representation. Proportional representation, proposed as a remedy, has not been accepted, the voting at the Speaker's Conference of 1944 being *against* 24, *for* 5. The alternative vote in single member constituencies was also disapproved, the voting being 20 to 5. This uncompromising opposition to proportional representation is virtually an admission that "one man, one value" is not acceptable. Large constituencies returning several members are needed for proportional representation. At present when a constituency becomes too large for a single member, the simple expedient is generally adopted of dividing it into two, an example of political wisdom worthy of Solomon. Half-a-city is a poor sort of constituency, unless a city, like the extinct Dinosaur, has a brain both in its head and in its tail. So long as great disparities continue between total votes cast for the several political parties and the corresponding number of members returned, "representation" must remain a mirage, "one man, one vote" a delusion.

In a special sense, however, the University franchise has provided a working example of proportional representation by giving representation to the professional classes just as residential segregation has given representation to the miners and other industrial workers. John Stuart Mill, that well of political philosophy undefiled, stressed the need for representing the instructed minority. Further, the method of proportional representation known as the single transferable vote has been used since 1918 in University elections at which two or more members are elected, viz., Oxford (2), Cambridge (2), Combined English (2) and Scottish (3), the other three being single member constituencies—London, Wales, and Queen's, Belfast. It is claimed that the alternative vote has encouraged the candidature and election of independent members.

Let us turn, in conclusion, to the purely personal aspects of University representation. Study of the biographies of University members since 1603 reveals the golden threads of intellectual integrity, independence, love of liberty. Francis Bacon's *Credidi propter quod locutus sum* should be the slogan for University members. Intellectual integrity—not mulish obstinacy; ability to adjust opinions to changing conditions. Consistency is the last refuge of the fool. John Seldon, Burgess for Oxford University in the Long Parliament of 1640-1647, was exceptional in preferring the rôle of the fox in his own fable in *Table Talk*:

“Wise men say nothing in dangerous times. The Lion you know called the Sheep to ask her if his breath smelt; she said Ay; he bit off her head for a fool. He call'd the Wolf and ask'd him; he said No; he tore him in pieces for a Flatterer. At last he call'd the Fox and ask'd him; truly he has got a Cold and could not smell.”

But the home of lost causes and impossible loyalties has produced some daring Daniels. Peel and Gladstone suffered electoral defeat at Oxford. Palmerston's advocacy of reform was resented at Cambridge and he shared the same fate.

The wise child says nothing but good of the living. What can be said of the present University members? Safely and

sincerely, that their abolition will make the House of Commons less lively, less expert, less democratic. Sir Alan Herbert's service in relation to the Matrimonial Causes Act is specially praiseworthy. The King's accolade is not the only recognition the senior burgess of Oxford University has received for this contribution to the happiness of our people.

If one righteous woman could save the city, the name of Eleanor Rathbone would be tendered in confidence, gratitude, reverence. Member for the Combined English Universities until her death on 2nd January, 1946, she was *alma mater* of Family Allowances, friend of the distressed, "a selfless humanitarian", as Sir Arthur Salter has said, "unequalled in our times". Harold Nicolson in *The Spectator* (11th January, 1946) concluded a moving eulogy:

"The memory of her ringing courage and her ardent eyes will not be forgotten. And as, under the gentle guidance of Hermes, she passes over the river of the dead there will be many unknown shades who will raise their mutilated arms to honour one who never forgot when others tried to forget."

An impartial witness, Ivor Brown, wrote in an article on the North Croydon election (*The Observer*, 21st March, 1948):

"Is Parliament to be deprived more and more of all the 'good candidates'? The disappearance of the University seats means that Sir John Anderson, Sir Arthur Salter and Mr. Wilson Harris, to name only three, will have to wear the motley and dance the hustings boogie-woogie, if they mean to continue. And what sensible citizen really wants them to leave Westminster?"

Alas! The Emperor has spoken; *sic volo, sic jubeo*. And those who are grateful for the work of the University members during the past three and a half centuries can but tender the "meed of some melodious tear".

(Concluded)

## OUR JOURNAL IN PARLIAMENT

The following extract from *Hansard* for 26th July, 1948, (Volume 454, No. 166, Col. 902) will interest our readers. Those who have asked for a German translation of this journal will see that official support for this proposal depends very largely on the interest shown in Germany in the English version.

**Mr. Driberg** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will consider circulating widely in Germany, in German translation, copies of *Parliamentary Affairs*, the quarterly periodical of the Hansard Society.

**The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Mayhew):** Copies of the English version of *Parliamentary Affairs* have been sent recently to information centres, libraries and Universities in the British zone. It is too early to assess the probable demand for a German version, but my right hon. Friend will consider the proposal in the light of the information received.

**Mr. Scott-Elliot:** Is my hon. Friend aware that, when I was in Berlin a week or two ago, I found that, at the Information Centre, the very greatest interest was expressed by Germans in *Parliamentary Affairs*, and is it not worth while considering translation into German?

**Mr. Mayhew:** We are considering that. Interest shown in the English version will have some bearing on it.



## CORRESPONDENCE

### NEW BILLS

Sir,

It has been suggested to me that there is no publication which makes a regular practice of describing Parliamentary Bills when they are first introduced but before they have been debated. Normally, I suppose, this function might be performed by the Press were more newsprint available. As it is new Bills are occasionally described in the *Economist* or the *Spectator*. In many cases, however, the public have little or no opportunity of hearing what a Bill seeks to do before it comes up for Second Reading. I feel sure that if some way could be found of giving a short factual account of new Bills when they are first presented to Parliament, it would be appreciated by all those who take an interest in Parliamentary affairs. I feel this task might with advantage be undertaken by the Hansard Society when adequate staff and accommodation are available.

I am, Sir,

Yours, etc.,

House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1

WALTER SCOTT-ELLIOT

### THE WEEKLY HANSARD

Sir,

The issue of a Weekly Edition of *Hansard* was a highly welcome innovation and was hailed by many regular readers as a great step forward in the work which the Hansard Society seeks to accomplish. Henceforth, our shelves were no longer to be littered with loose single copies of *Hansard*, heaped on one another in an ungainly pile. Instead, we were now to be able to display a row of Weekly Editions, neatly bound in their attractive cover, and arranged upright so that each week's issue could be readily identified by its date and serial number.

With this weekly issue, however, a serious deficiency soon began to assert itself, and the Treasury wisely decided to follow with a Weekly Index of subjects and speakers. This Index established itself very rapidly as indispensable to the regular reader of *Hansard*.

Soon, alas, these Weekly Indexes began to pile up, much as our daily *Hansards* were wont to do. And so we had to insert them loosely into the back cover of each weekly issue where they developed an unfortunate habit of dropping on to the floor whenever the volume was taken out for reference, or slipping into the marmalade on the breakfast table.

It should be relatively easy for H.M. Stationery Office to incorporate the Index into the back of each Weekly Edition of *Hansard* for the following week, and thus make for ease of reference, avoidance of loss, and neatness of book-shelves. I have tried repeatedly to get this idea to penetrate the Treasury cranium, but so far without success.

Can nothing more be done in the matter?

I am,

Yours, etc.,

S. SEGAL.

House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1

## PUBLIC INTEREST IN PARLIAMENT

Sir,

Every M.P. (especially those whose constituents are within easy reach of London) will endorse Mr. Thorneycroft's statement that we are at our "wits' end" to satisfy the demand for gallery tickets. Often M.P.s have to waste many hours a week sitting in the queue behind the Serjeant's chair.

Earlier in the present Parliament several M.P.s made a suggestion which the then Minister of Works more than once rejected—that a temporary extra gallery, accommodating perhaps some hundred more persons, should be built at the south end of the present Chamber: it would project above the bench on which we sit waiting for tickets, almost to the Bar of the House, but would of course not obstruct access to the Chamber. Such a gallery might not be beautiful but

need not be too unsightly; and engineers who have examined the possibilities say that it can be built.

In turning this proposal down, the Minister said, no doubt jocularly, that he hoped the public interest would slacken off in time. It has not done so; nor should it; but it does involve a grievous additional burden on busy M.P.s many of whom are constantly having either to disappoint constituents or to miss important committees or other engagements. The extra gallery would greatly ease this burden. The proposal was not particularly popular a year or two ago: now that M.P.s have had more experience of this chore, would they not gladly put up with the slight architectural anomaly involved for the remaining eighteen months or so of this Parliament?

Yours very truly,

House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1

TOM DRIBERG

## THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

Sir,

May I congratulate you on the excellent summer issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*?

Students whose syllabus includes "British Constitution" find themselves in particular difficulties over the large number of constitutional changes which are at present taking place.

These are not dealt with in the usual text-books, and even those students who study the newspapers carefully find it difficult to form a balanced picture of the constitutional changes and to compile an authoritative collection of notes to supplement their books.

Professor Wheare's article, appearing as it does just before the examinations and dealing with the period likely to be covered by questions on recent changes, has been of great assistance to me personally, and will, I am sure, be welcomed by all those in a similar position.

Yours truly,

ECONOMICS STUDENT

Exeter University.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its review in a subsequent issue of "Parliamentary Affairs".*

BENTHAM, JEREMY. *A Fragment on Government*. Oxford: Blackwell. 9s. 6d.

CHRMES, S. B. *English Constitutional History*. Cumberlege. 5s.

CURTIS, CHARLES P. *Lions under the Throne*. A Study of the U.S. Supreme Court. London, Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$3.50.

GALLOWAY, GEORGE B. *Congress at the Crossroads*. New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company. \$3.50.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER; MADISON, JAMES; and JAY, JOHN. *The Federalist*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Max Beloff. Oxford: Blackwell. 8s. 6d.

HARDIE, FRANK; and POLLARD, ROBERT S. W. *Lords and Commons*. Fabian Publications in conjunction with Victor Gollancz. 2s.

JESSUP, FRANK. *Local Government in Outline*. The Bureau of Current Affairs (117 Piccadilly, London, W.1). 2s.

JOLLIFFE, J. E. A. *The Constitutional History of Mediaeval England*. Adam and Charles Black. 25s.

LINDSAY, MARTIN. *Shall We Reform "the Lords"?* Falcon Press. 4s. 6d.

MILLETT, JOHN D. *The Process and Organization of Government Planning*. Columbia University Press. London: Cumberlege. 14s.

MURRAY, GILBERT. *From the League to U.N.* Cumberlege. 15s.

PATMAN, WRIGHT. *Our American Government: What is It? How Does It Function?* Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 15 cents.

ROBSON, WILLIAM A. *Public Administration Today*. Stevens. 2s. 6d.

VAN DOREN, CARL. *The Great Rehearsal*. The story of the making and the ratifying of the U.S. Constitution. Cresset Press. 25s.

## GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

*The following list of recent publications of H.M. Stationery Office consists in the main of documents of parliamentary and constitutional interest. Government publications may be ordered through the Hansard Society.*

*British Nationality Bill* (H.L. 119). 6d.

*Civil Estimates and Estimates for Revenue Departments*, 1948-9. (H.C. 68—Memo.). 2s.

*Consolidation Bills*, 1947-8. First Report. (Companies Bill) (H.L. 60, 81-1. H.C. 135-1), 1s. 6d. Second Report (Agricultural Wages Bill). (H.L. 60-1, 84-1. H.C. 141-1), 4d. Third Report (Statute Law Revision Bill). (H.L. 115. H.C. 170), 1d. Fourth Report (Agricultural Holdings Bill). (H.L. 121. H.C. 183), 1d.

*Cyprus Constitution*. Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Colonial No. 227). 2d.

*Government Publications*. Consolidated List for 1947. (70-344-0-47). 1s.

*House of Lords Offices, Select Committee on the*. Third Report (H.L. 80). 1d.

*Justices of the Peace, Royal Commission on*. Appendix 4. (73-18-1-4). 9d.

*Laying of Documents before Parliament (Interpretation) Bill*. (H.L. 127). 1d.

*Local Government Financial Statistics*, 1944-5. Summary. 3d.

*Parliament Bill*, 1947. Agreed Statement on conclusion of Conference of Party Leaders. (Cmd. 7380). 2d.

*Representation of the People Bill*. Statement on proposed New Constituencies. (Cmd. 7397), 1d. Report of the Boundary Commissioners on certain proposed New Constituencies (Cmd. 7400), 2d. Report of the Boundary Commissioners on proposed New Constituencies (Cmd. 7425), 1d.

*Sessional Printed Papers*, 1946-7. Titles and Contents. (146-1). 2s.

*Staffs Employed in Government Departments*. (Cmd. 7461). 1d.

*Statute Law Revision Bill*. (H.L. 87). 2s. 6d.

*Statutory Instruments, etc., Select Committee on*. Minutes of further Proceedings. (H.C. 126), 1d. Seventh Report. (H.C. 129), 2d. Eighth Report. (H.C. 145), 2d.

*Supreme Court*. The Rules of the Supreme Court (No. 1), 1948. (S.I. No. 939). 1d.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The House of Lords.** A Survey of its History and Powers. Conservative Political Centre. 1s.

**Lords and Commons.** By Frank Hardie and Robert S. W. Pollard, with a Foreword by Harold J. Laski. Fabian Publications in conjunction with Victor Gollancz. 2s.

**Shall we Reform "The Lords"?** By Martin Lindsay, M.P. Falcon Press. 4s. 6d.

**The Parliament Bill, 1947.** Agreed Statement on conclusion of Conference of Party Leaders, February-April, 1948. His Majesty's Stationery Office. 2d.

Shortly after I was elected to the House of Commons in 1931, I was invited to become one of the two Hon. Secretaries to an unofficial Conservative Committee of Members of both Houses to consider House of Lords reform. Our Chairman, the late Marquess of Salisbury, used the conclusions of this committee in framing the Bill which he introduced into the House of Lords and which obtained its Second Reading on the 4th April, 1935, but was then dropped. It is only in the course of close study that one comes to realize how baffling this problem is bound to be, although every amateur has a solution all ready to offer.

If it were not inherently baffling, it would surely have been settled long ago. Radical proposals for reform began in the House of Lords itself over sixty years ago when Lord Rosebery remarked that the peers received so much more rent than they paid that they tended to see only one side of the shield. Even before the Parliament Act of 1911 the Lords had passed a resolution that a peerage "should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords". The following year the preamble to the Parliament Act stated that

"it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it

at present exists a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis . . .”

Although a Liberal Cabinet Minister at that time said that the reform “brook[ed] no delay”, there has in fact been a delay of 37 years. No one defends the present state of affairs, both Houses have been in favour of reform, Right and Left are agreed that change is desirable, but nothing has been done because there is no agreement as to what should be done. Nor is disagreement confined to a difference between the two main parties; on the contrary, inside both parties, *quot homines, tot sententiæ*.

House of Lords reform can logically be analyzed into composition and powers. Logic, however, never carries us very far and it is clear that the composition affects the question of what powers should be entrusted to the Upper House. It is the fact that the House of Lords now consists almost entirely of hereditary peers and of Conservatives that prevents it from using its legal powers to the full. The country does not regard inheritance as justification for being a legislator and the Lords also have ceased to believe in their own moral authority. It would probably be true to say now—what was not true sixteen years ago—that no substantial body of opinion, even in the Conservative Party, desires to retain any vestige of the hereditary system. So rapidly has thought moved in the past few years.

The question which immediately presents itself is whether the new Upper Chamber should be elected or nominated. Those who desire a strong Upper House, who believe in imposing an effective check on the House of Commons, naturally tend to favour election of some kind. The difficulty of any such policy is that for more than three centuries the House of Commons has been the repository of power—however much the composition of that House may have been influenced by the Crown or great noblemen—and it would seem paradoxical that the democratic reform of the House of Lords should result in reducing the power of the Commons. An ingenious suggestion has been made that after each General Election, the new House of Commons should elect a new

Upper Chamber by some procedure which would approximately reproduce its party composition.

Opinion in recent years has probably moved towards a system of nomination for life, largely because that represents least change from the present system. Today ennoblement means little more than nomination to the Upper House, and the number of hereditary peers who take an effective part is small, and the majority of them have previously served their apprenticeship in the Commons.

Nomination presupposes a weak Upper Chamber for two reasons. Nomination on the advice of the Prime Minister would leave the next Government confronted with an Upper Chamber largely composed of its political opponents, and therefore neither party would agree to great legal powers being left with such a Chamber. In the second place, nominees would feel, as do the present peers, that they had no mandate from the electorate wherewith they could oppose the wishes of the Commons. The advocates of nomination are, therefore, those who do not desire a "strong" Upper Chamber legally able and morally willing to check the Commons, but who would wish to continue with an Upper Chamber where debate of a high, expert and detached character informs the country and influences the Commons.

It was not to be expected that any of the three private publications noted at the head of this article would add much that is new to the controversy. *The House of Lords: A Survey of its History and Powers* is accurately named, and, although produced by the Conservative Political Centre, can be called objective in its statements of fact though not in all its comments. *Lords and Commons*, a Fabian publication, is in three parts. *The Record of the Lords*, by Mr. Robert S. W. Pollard, is avowedly an indictment, all the counts being listed in Appendix I. An objective reader will not necessarily disagree with the Lords in all their disputes with Liberal and Labour Houses of Commons, but he will be shocked to see how seldom Conservative legislation has been revised. Mr. Frank Hardie's account of recent constitutional conflicts between the two Houses is far less partial. Mr. Harold J. Laski contributes a



Foreword in which he purports to lay down principles which Socialists will not admit, but it is not clear what authority he has for doing so. Mr. Martin Lindsay, M.P., in *Shall we Reform "The Lords"?* writes a chatty little book in which the views expressed are those of the typical Left-wing Conservative of the post-war vintage. While he shows a Conservative bias, he quotes Sir John Marriott as saying that the Lords were "dumb dogs while a Conservative Government were in office and ravening wolves at other times". He argues, as the present writer did some years ago, that Proportional Representation, by ensuring large representation of minorities, would go far to provide the check inside the Commons to extreme policies instead of in a Second Chamber.

The Agreed Statement on the conclusion of the Conference of Party Leaders shows how nearly an agreement was reached. The nine proposals for the composition of the new Chamber represent a remarkable harmony of outlook of the party leaders. The breakdown came on the period of the suspensory veto. The Bill originally provided that a measure to which the House of Lords would not agree should be submitted for the Royal Assent twelve months from the first Second Reading in the Commons. As it appeared that much of this period might have been consumed by the later stages of the Bill in the Commons, the Government agreed to substitute nine months from the Third Reading if this proved to be the longer. The Opposition would not agree to any shorter period than twelve months from the Third Reading. It is superficially true, therefore, to say that the breakdown occurred on the difference of three months. While the Liberals considered that this "is a matter of minor importance, which should have been capable of adjustment", a different view is expressed by the two large parties. "The Government representatives and the representatives of the Official Opposition considered that the difference between them on the subject of Powers was fundamental, and not related only to the length of the 'period of delay'." The three months issue in fact represents the difference between the Government view that the Upper Chamber should only have time to consider the legislation itself and the Opposition

view that the Lords should be able to delay legislation while public opinion in the electorate is ascertained, organized and expressed.

HUGH MOLSON, M.P.

*Barrister-at-Law, Inner Temple, 1931; Political Secretary, Association of Chambers of Commerce of India, 1926-29; Member of Central Housing Advisory Committee, 1943-48.*

**The Great Rehearsal.** The story of the making and ratifying of the U.S. Constitution. By Carl Van Doren. Cresset Press. 25s.

**The Federalist.** By Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Max Beloff. Oxford: Blackwell. 8s. 6d.

**Congress at the Crossroads.** By George B. Galloway. New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell. \$3.50.

**Lions under the Throne.** A Study of the U.S. Supreme Court. By Charles P. Curtis, Jnr. London, Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$3.50.

**Democratic Government and Politics.** By J. A. Corry. University of Toronto Press (London: Cumberlege). 21s.

**Democracy in the Dominions.** By Alexander Brady. University of Toronto Press (London: Cumberlege). 21s.

From May 14th to September 17th, 1787, delegates from 13 virtually independent States met in the State House in Philadelphia "for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation". They realized that they were making history. "It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country", wrote Alexander Hamilton, a delegate from New York, in the first of *The Federalist* essays, "to decide by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are for ever destined to depend for their political constitutions, on accident and force".

Almost the first act of the Founding Fathers was to pass a rule of secrecy. As a consequence the proceedings of the

Philadelphia Convention are only known to the world in fragmentary form. The official journal, not published until 1819, is brief and formal. James Madison's notes were published in 1846 and supplement the official journal. William Pierce and other delegates kept private records or wrote in later years from memory.

From the official journal, Madison's notes, Pierce's pen pictures, and the diaries, records and reminiscences of other delegates, Carl Van Doren has written *The Great Rehearsal*, a consecutive story of the events of those critical months and the later battle for the ratification of the Constitution in the States. Although this is not the first attempt to produce a readable and consecutive narrative of the Philadelphia Convention, it is the best one-volume account that has come my way, and the Cresset Press is to be congratulated on making it available to British readers.

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were determined to avoid the weaknesses which they thought were present in the British system of Government. "The History of Great Britain", wrote John Jay in the fifth of *The Federalist* essays, "is the one with which we are in general the best acquainted, and it gives us many useful lessons. We may profit by their experience without paying the price which it cost them." Edmund Randolph of Virginia, for example, opposed the concentration of executive powers in the hands of one man because he regarded it as "the foetus of monarchy" and he had no wish to copy the British model. George Mason, also of Virginia, went further. "We are not indeed constituting a British Government, but a more dangerous monarchy, an elective one." Even wise old Benjamin Franklin had some sharp words to say about the influence of money on English political life. The Quakers served the community without salaries, fees or perquisites. As far as he was concerned, he was opposed to paying any salary to the executive, and he moved an amendment accordingly.

So, as the discussion proceeded, the Founding Fathers kept in mind the British Constitution and determined to improve on it. They preferred a Republic to a Monarchy. Under the

influence of Montesquieu, they devised a system of separated powers, of checks and balances. James Madison claimed that a Constitution which did not separate legislative, executive and judicial powers was "the very definition of tyranny". They decided, after heated argument, on a Federal rather than a unitary Government. They agreed that the Constitution should be expressed in a written document which was deliberately made difficult to amend. Thus in many important respects the delegates radically altered the details of the British system of government.

Yet in the 160 years which have elapsed since the Philadelphia Convention, the gulf which separates the British and American forms of government has narrowed in an interesting way. As Charles P. Curtis, Jnr., points out in *Lions Under the Throne*, "the framers of the Constitution often chose not to express their own thoughts at all on some questions, preferring to leave the question unanswered and open for possibly better men with surely more information". The consequence has been that the U.S. Presidency, especially under the influence of the two Roosevelts, has become an office of a power which would have shocked the Founding Fathers, whereas the Sovereign in Britain no longer possesses the political influence which, as much as anything, drove the Americans out of the Empire. The system of checks and balances which the delegates were so careful to establish is today "a serious handicap", to use the words of George B. Galloway in *Congress at the Crossroads*. The meagre powers originally allotted to the Federal Government have been considerably extended by judicial "interpretation". Alexander Hamilton's view was that the function of the judiciary was to keep the legislature within proper limits, to prevent "infractions of the Constitution". Yet Justice George Sutherland said in 1923 that the Supreme Court had "steadily adhered to the rule that every possible presumption is in favour of the validity of an act of Congress", and President Roosevelt went so far as to write to a Congressional Committee in 1935: "I hope your committee will not permit doubt as to its constitutionality to block the suggested legislation." Finally it is recognized that

there are drawbacks to a written Constitution which is difficult to amend. Galloway, in his important study of Congress, emphasizes the fact that the U.S. Constitution was "devised for a simple agricultural society" but today "is no longer competent to resolve efficiently the issues imposed on government by the needs of a great industrial nation".

This increasing similarity between the forms of government of the English-speaking world has not hitherto commanded much attention, and two books recently published meet a long-standing need. The first, *Democratic Government and Politics* by Professor Corry, is one of the Canadian Government Series of Constitutional Studies. It is a useful survey of the forms of government in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Professor Corry's study is marked not only by industry but by a refreshing sense of realism. He shows that Canada, as in so many things, has found a half-way position between the British and American forms of government. Although he is a believer in the two-party system, he hardly conceals his dislike of Canada's two traditional parties.

The reviewer registers a mild protest that Professor Corry should repeat Bagehot's assertion that the Cabinet is a committee of Parliament. As Mr. Amery emphasized in his Chichele lectures, the increase in the volume of government activity has inevitably made the Cabinet the master rather than the servant of Parliament. The statement that the King, in appointing a Prime Minister, has no choice but to select the acknowledged leader of the majority party needs qualification in view of King George V's choice of Mr. Baldwin in 1923 and the present King's choice of Mr. Churchill in 1940.

The other book, *Democracy in the Dominions* by Dr. Brady, outlines the growth of democratic institutions in four of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth—Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Dr. Brady emphasizes, as does Professor Corry, "the interaction of British inheritance and American environment" in Canadian parliamentary institutions. He emphasizes the fact that the Fathers of Confederation in Canada were "empiricists in

temper" and "made no evident excursions into abstract political theory".

Dr. Brady faces frankly the racial tensions in the four Dominions and the problems these create in evolving satisfactory forms of self-government. In the province of Quebec, 80 per cent. of the inhabitants are of French extraction and "possess customs, language, law, education, and religion different from those in the remainder of Canada". On certain vital matters "the French are not prepared to accept the majority principle as an immutable norm". In British Columbia before the war, 8 per cent. of the people were of Asiatic stock.

The race problem is more acute in South Africa, but there it is not a question of a rural minority reluctant to accept majority rule, but "a white minority dominant over a coloured and black majority and anxious to retain its dominance, even at the sacrifice of liberal principles". Two-thirds of the people are Bantu, 20 per cent. are European (of whom less than half are British) and 8 per cent. are of mixed race. Yet although the European vote trebled between 1927 and 1933, the non-European vote remained approximately the same.

The race problem is less acute in Australia and New Zealand, although Dr. Brady points out that the Australian Labour Party, "while it expresses faith in the brotherhood of man has not been prepared to admit that such brotherhood should interfere with its rigid views on immigration". Similarly in New Zealand, where 94 per cent. of the population is of European extraction, Labour "has emphasized no less a white man's standard of living, secured in part by raising barriers against the inflow of Orientals and Pacific Islanders".

Dr. Brady makes some interesting points about the influence of religion on political institutions. Whereas in Canada the Roman Catholic French Canadians have been conservative in politics, the Australian Labour movement has for long derived strength from the Roman Catholic Church which has many adherents among Irish workers. In South Africa the Boers, "much influenced by the Old Testament".

accepted the subjection of the pagan native. "Religion thereby deepened the Afrikaner's consciousness of colour and race," and the original constitution of the South African Republic included this clause: "The people desire to permit no equality between coloured people and the white inhabitants of the country, either in church or state."

There are many interesting differences in parliamentary procedure within the Commonwealth which Dr. Brady mentions briefly. Typical of these are the system of compulsory voting in Australia; compulsory registration in New Zealand; the broadcasting of the principal parliamentary debates in New Zealand; the use of proportional representation and the alternative vote in Australia; the use of single-chamber government in Queensland; the regional influence in political appointments (and especially Cabinet posts) in Canada; the use of the referendum in Australia.

These differences of detail are likely to increase in the coming years. The attainment of independent status by India, Pakistan and Ceylon; the far-reaching constitutional changes taking place or imminent in the West Indies and Africa; the recent changes of Government in South Africa and Eire; the closer association of the United Kingdom in the affairs of Western Europe; these are some of the developments which are bound to affect the form, though not the substance, of parliamentary government in the Commonwealth.

S. D. B.

**Vacher's Parliamentary Companion.** Published bi-monthly by Vacher and Sons Ltd., Westminster House, London, S.W.1. 2s. 6d.

**Dod's Parliamentary Companion.** Published annually by Business Dictionaries Ltd., 133/7 Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4. 15s.

**Who's Who in Parliament.** Compiled by Carol Bunker. St. Botolph Publishing Co. 6s.

At a time when that indispensable annual *Who's Who* has attained its hundredth birthday, it is appropriate that some attention should be paid to three kindred publications (two of which, incidentally, are senior in age to *Who's Who*) specializing particularly in the field of parliamentary and political information.

"Information Indispensable in Parliamentary Business" runs a subtitle on the cover of *Vacher's Parliamentary Companion*. It accurately describes the contents of this well-known publication whose first issue coincided with the election of the second Parliament of King William IV in 1831. Since the

year of its foundation the *Companion* has had only four editors, of whom the present, Major Low, has held the chair for 40 years.

The first *Companion* contained 36 pages and appeared yearly. Its usefulness was so quickly proved, however, that by 1837 a monthly issue was found to be necessary. Today, owing to the paper restrictions, it appears bi-monthly, and contains 128 pages of parliamentary and official information. Its contents are classified under 26 headings which record the essential details relating to members of the Lords and Commons, the principal Government, legal and public offices or bodies, lists of the Privy Council, Ambassadors, Judges and other institutions of a public and administrative nature. The *Companion* may thus claim to furnish a handy, comprehensive and concentrated source of reference for politicians, public officials, journalists, and indeed the majority of us, so intimately and increasingly are our lives becoming entangled in the web of officialdom. It has, too, the advantage, due to its bi-monthly appearances, of being always relatively up-to-date. Moreover, that essential and elusive virtue of accuracy, by no means an easy accomplishment in a publication of this type, has become a tradition with *Vacher* ever since the day when the first preface promised "that every exertion shall be used to obtain the most correct information on the subject". Such accuracy is the result of a happy combination of editorial experience and efficiency with the co-operation of individual members of both Parliament and official departments. One minor suggestion can be offered. It might be useful, even if only for the purpose of record, to give a few lines of obituary to members of the two Houses who have died during the session, instead of the brief reference made at present.

*Dod's Parliamentary Companion* is the younger brother of *Vacher* by a bare year. Like the latter it has flourished without interruption from the days when our House of Commons was still unreformed, our Peerage less than half its present size, our parliamentary procedure relatively simple, and the number of Government departments few. As with *Vacher*, age has brought an increasing portliness, but despite the present 600 pages its format makes it a handy pocket book of reference. *Dod* is an annual publication and thus, though lacking the currency of the bi-monthly *Vacher*, can make wider its scope and more ample its treatment. It contains brief but useful biographies of both Peers and Members of Parliament. These are based partly on the information of the subjects themselves, but chiefly, one suspects, on the researches of the editor, especially in the case of their Lordships, many of whom still manifest a greater partiality for the silence of discreet retirement than their brethren of the Lower House. As to the biographies of the latter, I can recollect evidence from contemporary parliamentary journalists of their being put to energetic use by Mr. Gladstone himself in the House when some unknown back-bencher made a speech which attracted his attention and admiration. In addition they will form a useful basis for the future historian who will some day be working on the personnel of our present-day Parliaments. One could wish, therefore, that in the few cases of somewhat summary dismissal some attempt had been made at amplification of the biographies of those members who, with a becoming (if surprising) modesty, have supplied but a bare line upon themselves. Other useful sections of *Dod* contain the Returns of the General Elections, together with the progressive records of any by-elections which take place subsequently, a compact



and admirable account of parliamentary terms and proceedings which summarizes the more important aspects of procedure, brief information on political associations and British Parliaments overseas, and other indispensable information concerning the various official departments. Thus *Dod's Parliamentary Companion*, in addition to supplying the present day with a valuable *vade mecum* on parliamentary and public affairs, can legitimately claim to be one of the reference works which the future student of political history will require as one of the tools of his research.

*Who's Who in Parliament*, compiled by Mrs. Carol Bunker, is a stripling in the sphere of parliamentary biography. The title is, strictly speaking, something of a misnomer. Despite the desires and menacings of some of our more advanced politicians, Parliament still remains composed of the sovereign and the three estates of the realm, namely the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons. *Who's Who in Parliament*, however, concentrates merely on the third (and admittedly most important) estate. This has afforded the compiler more space to allot to the biographies of members of the Lower House, and thus they are often a valuable amplified version of those in *Dod's Parliamentary Companion*, and contain in succinct form the salient features of your or my Member's career. It is to be hoped that this book will make future reappearances after subsequent elections when the compiler might record in an appendix the changes in personnel and ministerial appointments which have taken place during the life of the present Parliament so as to ensure the continuity of her record.

Finally, the value of all three publications, each differing somewhat in scope, but with the same general principle of informing us of essential details on a facet of life which is becoming more and more important, cannot be over-stated. And behind this is a less immediate but equally valuable use—that of serving as the by no means least important source books to the future chroniclers of this complex age.

J. D. LAMBERT, B.A., B.Litt.(Oxon),  
formerly head of the Information  
Department of the Hansard Society.

**Local Government in Outline.** By Frank Jessup. The Bureau of Current Affairs. 2s.

**Local Government.** By Sir A. MacNalty. Methuen. 4s. 6d.

**A History of Local Government.** By K. B. Smellie. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.

**Report of the Local Government Boundary Commission.** His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1s.

Mr. Jessup's Pamphlet, published by the Bureau of Current Affairs, is very good value for very little money, and shows "how local government works" in a few well written pages.

It sounds a warning note against the craze of attempting too much neat uniformity, urges that orderliness can be carried too far, and suggests as a test of sufficiency of homogeneity for a separate Local Government unit the ability to put a cricket team into the field without causing surprise to its neighbours. Somewhat revolutionary, but certainly refreshing!

An interesting chart shows that the Brighton Corporation has, in addition to 20 Standing Committees, no less than 50 Permanent Sub-Committees. This should help readers to understand why the Boundary Commission are reluctant to increase unduly the size and population of existing County Boroughs.

The Assistant Education Officer of the Kent County Council can be congratulated upon this chatty but illuminating contribution to the cause of effective publicity.

Sir Arthur MacNalty is the author of a recent addition to the family of "Home Study" books, and its set-up and price should ensure a wide circulation. It is, however, unfortunate that a book which is first published in 1948 should offer no guidance on the health, fire and planning services now in operation, or the revolutionary changes in the realm of finance and valuation which have recently been made.

There appears to have been just time to include a note of the passing of the Local Government (Boundary Commission) Act, 1945, but the delay in publication has prevented the author considering the far-reaching proposals which are now engaging the minds of Local Authorities of every type.

The general level of this book merits the status which a more up-to-date précis of our Local Government machinery would have ensured; but, none the less, it is well worth reading and can be recommended to those who desire an introduction to the nature and operation of Local Government in England and Wales.

*A History of Local Government* is one of the "Town and County Hall" series under the general editorship of Mr. J. H. Warren, and maintains the excellence of its predecessors.

At first sight it may appear to contain too much of history and too little of the modern set-up of Local Government, but as the latter was so ably dealt with by Mr. Warren himself in *The English Local Government System*, it is, perhaps, fortunate that Mr. Smellie should have recorded such an admirable outline of the growth and development of the Local Government of our country from 1066 until 1945. If only "today" could have been substituted for 1945, this book would have been of greater interest and value, as some of the recorded views and submissions have lost point against the background of recent legislation.

The history is, however, so ably summarized and covers such a wide field that it can be cordially commended to those who would learn the foundations of a form of democratic Local Government which is still the envy of the world—or, at least, most of it.

*The Report of the Local Government Boundary Commission* is most ably written and bears the hall-mark throughout of care and erudition, though it also contains a characteristic British quality, namely, the element of compromise.

The years 1945 and 1946 heard the claims of many of the large County Boroughs to two-fold, three-fold and even four-fold expansion. This was met by the counter-claim of the County Councils that all County Boroughs under 200,000 population should become Non-County Boroughs and lose their all-purpose status. The Boundary Commission have steered between these extremes, and recommend the creation of 3 types of Authority; (1) County Councils (both one-tier and two-tier);

(2) County Borough Councils of a new type (second-tier); (3) County District Councils.

The first mentioned will include not only existing administrative Counties, but the largest County Boroughs (with the exception of Manchester and Liverpool). The second group will contain the remainder of the County Boroughs and the large Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts—leaving the smaller County Districts to form the third group, the Councils of which will have less administrative powers than those recommended for the intermediate classification.

It is encouraging to note that Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve and his colleagues are fully alive to the danger of large units of a type which would result in remoteness of administration and lead to loss of interest on the part of the electorate and to lack of intimate knowledge of the area on the part of the members.

One sentence merits direct quotation: "Local Government loses vitality in proportion to the remoteness of the individual member or officer of the Council from the individual citizen;" and there are other references to the size of units which suggest that there is not likely to be any undue merger of the scattered Rural Districts, though a certain amount of controlled grouping of Rural and Urban communities appears to be envisaged.

The Report recognizes that legislation will be necessary to implement some of the main recommendations, and this gives rise to the question as to whether the present Parliament will be prepared to suffer the "slings and arrows" which may be hurled by existing all-purpose Authorities, which are to be thrown into the lap of adjoining administrative Counties, with whom in many instances they have little affinity.

One interesting example of this may be briefly mentioned: namely, that Bournemouth should become one of the new second-tier County Boroughs and transferred to the County of Dorset. Here is a large and well-developed all-purpose Authority with problems and interests fundamentally different from those of the adjoining agricultural County, and it may consider that it would lose a substantial measure of the one-tier independence it enjoys today. Norwich and other large towns with treasured traditions may be similarly affected, and it remains to be seen what the reaction from such centres will be.

This constructive Report clearly recognizes the possibility of disturbance and offers, as a sop to Cerberus, a substantial measure of autonomy to the new County Boroughs; so that much may depend upon the precise degree of independence which is to be accorded them. It is not, however, clear that a new County Borough of 60,000 will be of adequate size to undertake, on an independent basis, the whole of the costly functions created by the Education Act, 1944; but the reviewer of this Report must refrain from posing further questions, and records appreciation for an illuminating and constructive document, which will continue to be widely debated until the twain "East and West" shall really meet.

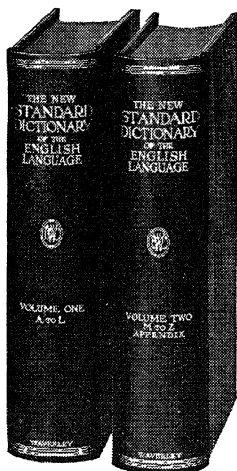
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